

The Ancient Egyptian Family

Kinship and Social Structure

Troy D. Allen

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 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
New York London

First published 2009
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2008.

To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Allen, Troy D.

The ancient Egyptian family : kinship and social structure / by Troy D. Allen.

p. cm. – (African studies : history, politics, economics, and culture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-415-96156-1

1. Family–Egypt–History. 2. Egypt–Civilization–African influences. 3. Diop, Cheikh Anta. I. Title.

HQ509.A44 2008

306.850932--dc22 2008014901

ISBN13: 978-1-135-89832-8 ePub ISBN

ISBN10: 0-415-96156-4 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-89022-1 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-96156-1 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-89022-6 (ebk)

Dedication

This book is dedicated to my wife Lia, who has provided love, inspiration, encouragement, advice and unwavering support, none of this would have been possible without you, thanks for your many sacrifices and love. To my children, Sa'iid, Khephren, Akosua, and Djoser, thanks for allowing "daddy" to work and complete this project. Also all of my ancestors, but especially Edith and Hiram Roberts; and to all the brothers and sisters from my hometown, the city of McKeesport, Pennsylvania. Also this work is dedicated to all the people of African descent who possessed the intellectual ability to produce scholarly work but who were denied the opportunity. And finally this work is dedicated to the memory, life and work of the African savant Cheikh Anta Diop.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Molefi Asante for his unwavering support, patience, advocacy and guidance, all of which were critical for the completion of this project. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Theophile Obenga for his lessons in precise scholarship and mentoring. Dr. Obenga provided for me the introduction to Ancient Egyptian Language and Civilization. His example of humility, integrity, and energy will be remembered by all who have had the pleasure to encounter him for eternity. I thank him most for his friendship.

I would like to thank all the members of faculty at The Ohio State University and Temple University whose classes inspired me and molded me. Special thanks to the faculties at Southern University and Louisiana State University who pushed and insisted that I complete this work, especially Francis Danquah. I must also thank Doris White, Susan Dixon and Marge Pippet who took the time to read the entire manuscript and offered many insightful questions, and suggestions on ways to improve the final product.

I am grateful to all my friends for their support and encouragement. I am especially grateful to Keith Murphy who has been a constant friend, and has supported most of my endeavors for over forty years. Dave Canton and Abdul Salu merit special mentioning for their constant exaltations and encouragement throughout the various stages of this product.

I would especially like to thank all of my family members for their support: Jeff, Todd, Tiff, John, Ahmed, Ismail, Scottie, Marlin, Doris, Overton, and Big Mama-Helen. Thanks guys.

Portions of this book have appeared previously in different form: Allen, T. "Africana Studies and Problems in Egyptology: The Case of Ancient Egyptian Kinship" in *HANDBOOK OF BLACK STUDIES*, eds. Asante, M. and Karenga, M. California: Sage Publications, pp. 275–282, 2006 "Problems in Egyptology: Ancient Egyptian Kinship" in *ANKH: Journal of Egyptology and African Civilizations*. No. 10/11, p. 56–71, 2001. "Problems in Ancient Egyptian Kinship." *Journal of Black Studies*, Volume 31, No.2, p.139–148., 2000. "Ancient Egyptian Kinship and Social Organization." Jones, L, ed. *Brothers Of the Academy: Twenty-Eight Up and Coming Scholars*. (Florida: Stylus Publications), 236–248. 2000. All reprinted with the permission of the publishers.

1

The Egyptian Foundation

Its contribution to human knowledge in the fields of science, astronomy, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, geometry, and engineering leaves most observers of ancient Egyptian civilization in awe.¹ Ancient Egypt was one of the greatest civilizations that has ever existed. Indeed, ancient Egypt's historical greatness seems to be surpassed only by the remarkable endurance of its monuments through time.

It is evident that despite its remarkable monuments the greatness of ancient Egypt does not reside in the answer to the question, "How were the pyramids built?" but rather it resides in the question, "How was their society built?"

Clearly, to comprehend the enduring grandeur of the ancient Egyptian civilization one must first understand not merely its technological innovations, which are fascinating, but also its social institutions.

A major fountain of all institutions in a society, throughout all of human history, is the family.² The organization of the family underlies the structure of other social institutions. In order to understand ancient Egyptian society as such we must first know precisely how the ancient Egyptian's family was organized in terms of marriage, kinship, and lineage.

Family structure is sociologically controlled, and the family's relationship among members is subject to some regular arrangements. However, the organization of the family varies in different societies.³ There are, in fact, several different models of family structure.⁴

The distribution of such models is not a random affair. Every model of family organization has its own internal logic. In each model there are certain relationships among family members, and every family member has a specific role vis-à-vis others. All roles are designated and defined by kinship terms. Kinship terms serve as internal guides to family relationships and organization.⁵

As kinship networks grow, some relationships must be terminated. Therefore a kinship system solves the problem of including some relatives while excluding others.

Usually, most peoples include as relatives those who have a common ancestor. When tracing is done through the males, the

practice is said to be patrilineal. If the tracing is done through the females then the practice is called matrilineal.⁶

Indeed, there is a basic problem when it comes to comprehending ancient Egyptian family and social organization. Some Egyptologists state that the ancient Egyptian family and social organization were structured along patrilineal lines. Others argue that the ancient Egyptian family was organized along matrilineal lines. Resolving this disagreement is a prerequisite to beginning any critical examination of the ancient Egyptian family. Therefore a prerequisite of this study is to clarify these two diametrically opposed views and ascertain the true nature of ancient Egyptian family and social organization.

Anthropologists and social evolutionists have consistently used patrilineal family and social organization as an indicator of civilization, while matrilineal family and social organization was declared a measure of barbarism.⁷

In fact, this way of looking at the family and social organization was used to justify the imposition of European cultural values on African societies in the name of the three C's: Christianity, civilization, and commerce.

It is very clear that many African societies practiced matrilineal family social organization prior to the time of European invasion.⁸ Matrilineal families and social organization might in fact, be seen as the dominant mode of social organization in pre-colonial African societies.⁹ Now, the traditional African family and social organization has virtually disappeared under the enormous assault of Western culture.¹⁰

Since the time of Herodotus, ancient Egypt also was known for its matrilineal family and social organization.¹¹ More contemporary scholars such as Bachofen, Briffault, and Diop have produced monumental works that cite ancient Egypt as the clearest example of the "feminine principle" embodied by the matrilineal family and social organization.¹²

Since ancient Egypt did not emulate the patrilineal model of family and social organization it has become an enigma for those who can not accept its matrilineal structure. Indeed, for those scholars who solely equate "civilization" with the patrilineal model of family and social organization, Egypt remains their albatross and their foil for denying the African basis of Egyptian civilization.

The matrilineal nature of ancient Egyptian society reveals both the continuity between African and Egyptian civilizations and the compatibility between matrilineal social structure and civilization. An understanding of this issue is absolutely critical to Africology, Egyptology and anthropology. This book is composed of seven components (1) The Egyptian Foundation, (2) The Kinship Problem,

(3) The Family in Ancient Egyptian Society, (4) Ancient Egyptian Kinship Terms, (5) Egypt and Other African Cultures, (6) Cheikh Anta Diop's Two Cradle Theory, (7) Conclusion.

This book approaches the Ancient Egyptian family and social organization through an Afrocentric perspective. The primary data belong to Egyptology, while the analytical techniques are guided by Africalogy.¹³ I'll employ the assistance of both anthropology and Egyptology, through the framework of Africalogy. Few studies of this type have been attempted. This work seeks to highlight a number of key issues that have yet to be definitively resolved in Egyptology. New interpretations and discussions of these problems are offered here.

There is an abundance of evidence to choose from when examining the family in ancient Egypt. Similar studies of this nature usually consist of data from a singular time period, and a specific type, for example; Middle Kingdom Stelae. I attempted to make this study broader in scope than previous ones by using evidence from three areas, stelae, statues, and paintings on walls of tombs; as well as from three periods: Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. This holistic approach was designed to demonstrate the diachronic dimension of the ancient Egyptian family, while stressing the consistency and continuity of ancient Egyptian kinship terms.

I have made a general survey and review of the literature produced on the family, marriage, sexual like, women, and kinship of ancient Egypt. The key aspect of the review is that it highlights the ambiguous and conflicting dialogue that surrounds ancient Egyptian kinship terms. I argue that this vague comprehension of ancient Egyptian kinship terms has led to many misinterpretations regarding the ancient Egyptian family and social organization.

[Chapter 1](#) provides a glimpse of the historical significance of this endeavor. It also provides a context for the thrust of the work of Cheikh Anta Diop, and the nexus between ancient Egypt and African-American scholars. A work such as this obviously has a unique theoretical thrust. Contrary to most studies of this kind. I have not attempted to camouflage my theoretical assumptions. Rather I have forthrightly stated both my theoretical and philosophical position in [chapter 2](#).

In [chapter 3](#), "The Family in Ancient Egyptian Society", the reader is presented with documented evidence on the two types of families that existed in ancient Egypt. The families are depicted through iconographic evidence such as stelae, statues, and wall paintings. These visual records left by the ancient Egyptians are similar to modern day family portraits. However, the ancient Egyptians left inscriptions along with these visual records that enable us, in most cases to establish kinship terms and relationships.

So far we have only discovered two types of families in ancient Egyptian society. First there was the monogamous family, which is one man (husband) who is married to one woman (wife). The monogamous family unit can be with or without children. Also, it can be nuclear in composition, with only a husband and wife (married couple), or it could encompass the extended family such as lineal and collateral relatives, ranging from one or more generations.

The second type is the polygamous family unit or more precisely the polygynous family unit. This family consisted on one man (husband), married to two or more women (wives). It may have been nuclear or extended as described earlier, with the exception of plural wives. Demonstrating that the polygynous family was a socially accepted family unit in ancient Egyptian society adds new insight into the social organization of the ancient Egyptian family. The rendering of the monogamous family unit “first” represents a methodological convention, not a historical sequence.

[Chapter 4](#) relies on the data gathered from the two types of families studied. Primarily, I will look at the kinship terms in their complete context. A rigorous application of Africological and anthropological techniques will be used to define the exact network of relationships created in the Egyptian family. By analyzing these data from an Afrocentric perspective I hope to draw a sound conclusion as to how the ancient Egyptian family was organized.

One of the new aspects of this study is in [chapter 5](#), where I compare kinship terms from ancient Egypt with those of Indo-European, Semitic and “Black Africa”. A systematic comparison of this kind will allow us to determine which kinship terminologies share linguistic and family organizational similarities. By highlighting these commonalities, substantial links can be drawn between various societies. Conversely, where no similarities appear we can conclude that those societies must belong to an entirely different cultural complex. These results can shed new light on the ancient Egyptian family and social organization.

This research begs us to test the Two Cradle Theory of Cheikh Anta Diop. [Chapter 6](#) is an attempt to do just that. The work of Cheikh Anta Diop affirms the monogenesis position of the underlying unity of humanity. Still, he proposed the Two Cradle Theory as a model to understand variance in human culture. Diop’s Two Cradle Theory proposes that modern “man” (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) through migration and isolation evolved in two distinct cradles. In the northern cradle the environment was harsh, and food was scarce, which led humanity in that cradle to adopt a nomadic lifestyle revolving around the patrilineal family and social organization. Conversely the environment in the southern cradle was tropical and food was

plentiful, humanity was led in that cradle to adopt a sedentary lifestyle, develop agriculture and organizes their families along matrilineal lines. By a careful examination of the data produced through this research, ancient Egypt can be placed within its proper cradle.

The conclusion contains a summary of the work, and what conclusions can be drawn from this book, along with recommendations for future inquiry.

2

The Historical Context

Without some sense of history one cannot fully comprehend the importance or significance of the present undertaking. Necessarily, the historical development will be brief and is intended to serve only as a backdrop to facilitate understanding of the context of my work.

A key aspect of my context problem, whether ancient Egypt was a matrilineal or patrilineal civilization, is linked to several ideological and philosophical assumptions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Martin Bernal, author of *Black Athena*, cites the following forces that played key roles in shaping the racism and chauvinism for the following two centuries:

We are now approaching the nub of this volume and the forces that eventually overthrew the ancient model, leading to the replacement of Egypt by Greece as the fount of European civilization. I concentrate on these four forces: Christian reaction, The Rise of the concept of progress, Growth of Racism, and Romantic Hellenism.¹

Bernal is correct to point out these factors, which indeed contributed to the fall of the “ancient model” as opposed to the “Aryan model”, his analysis appears to be shortsighted in regard to the impact of racism. The racism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that which continues today is not an isolated category to be separated from the three other forces that he notes. In fact, racism is the driving force behind them, and acts as the thread that ties them together. The larger picture that Bernal fails to account for in his analysis is not the “fall” of the ancient model, but the fall of Africa.

It is only after the denigration of Africa through the enslavement and colonization of Africans, that ancient Egypt’s geographical, racial, and cultural heritage becomes problematic to Western historiography. This is clear from the comment of historian Henry Buckle who referred to “Egypt as a civilization ... which forms a striking contrast to the barbarism of other nations of Africa.”²

To understand this clearly one must examine the work of G.W.F Hegel, specifically his book entitled: *The Philosophy of History*. Hegel’s work bares the seeds for all the aforementioned forces cited

by Bernal. Hegel was born in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1770. In his text *Hegel* Peter Singer states:

No philosopher of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries has had as great an impact on the world as Hegel ... without Hegel, neither the intellectual nor political developments of the last 150 years would have taken place as they did.³

Hegel's philosophy of history set the framework within which non-European cultures, particularly African cultures, were placed on the periphery of world history. Afrocentric historians, who attempt to reconstruct African history, memory, and identity, invariably engage them in a philosophical struggle against the ideas set forth by Hegel and conceptualized by Western academia.⁴

Both anthropology and Egyptology emerged as academic disciplines at nearly the same time, and while they remained separate and distinct fields both were clearly under the ideological and philosophical framework laid in Hegel's work in regard to Africa.⁵

Hegel's assessment of Africa and African people can be summarized succinctly in six points:

1. Africa must be divided into three parts: one is that which lies south of the desert of the Sahara—Africa proper—the Upland almost entirely unknown to us, with narrow coast tracts along the sea; the second is that to the north of the desert—European Africa (if we may call it)—a coastland; the third is the river region of the Nile, the only valley-land of Africa, and which is in connection with Asia.⁶
2. Africa proper as far as History goes back has remained for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world—shut up; it is the Gold-land compressed within itself—the land of childhood ...⁷
3. The peculiarity of African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that in reference to it, we must quite give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas—the category of Universality.... The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality.⁸
4. They have moreover no knowledge of immortality of the soul.⁹
5. The only essential connection that has existed and continued between Negroes and the Europeans is that of Slavery.¹⁰
6. At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in its northern part—belong to Asiatic or Northern world ... Egypt will be considered in reference to the passage of the human mind from its Eastern to its Western phase, but it does not belong to the African spirit. What we properly

understand as Africa is the Unhistorical, Underdeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World's History.¹¹

There is little doubt that almost all Western scholars—philosophers, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, Egyptologists, and political theorists share Hegel's ideas concerning Africa and African people.¹² Hegel was not a lone renegade in his assessment of African history, but through his work we can clearly see the length, depth, and saturation of racism that encompasses Western academic disciplines.¹³

In order to reconcile the world and Hegelian thought, several quasi-philosophical theories emerged in field of anthropology, such as evolutionism, diffusionism, functionalism, and structuralism.¹⁴ Evolutionism became the dominant paradigm in the field of Anthropology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Through this evolutionary framework all non-European peoples were seen as locked into ancient traditions, which are living relics from a primitive world, co-existing with their modern contemporaries, Europeans. This framework said in no uncertain term that Western civilization was the most advanced form of society that the world had ever known.¹⁵

The author that has left the largest legacy in the field of Anthropology with regards to the social evolution of societies and civilizations was Henry L. Morgan with his two works, *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* and *Ancient Society: or, Researches in the line of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization*. In *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Morgan demonstrates the existence of two types of kinship systems, one classificatory or non-Aryan: the other descriptive or Aryan/Indo-European. For Morgan the family was a constantly changing entity that had evolved from the beginnings of human history.

Morgan developed an elaborate scheme on social evolution, and is in fact the inventor of kinship studies.¹⁶ A key tenet of his evolutionary scheme is that humanity had evolved from a universal stage of matriarchy, to a universal stage of patriarchy, with matriarchy being equated with savagery/barbarism and patriarchy being equated with civilization.¹⁷ Patriarchy and monogamy became criteria for the development of civilization.¹⁸

When Morgan applies his criteria to African civilizations, the echo of Hegel rings loud and clear:

In Africa we encounter a chaos of savagery and barbarism. Original arts and inventions have largely disappeared; through fabrics and utensils introduced through external sources; but

savagery in its lowest forms, cannibalism included, and barbarism in its lowest form prevail over the greatest part of the continent. Among the interior tribes, there is a nearer approach to indigenous culture and to a normal condition; but Africa in the main, is a barren ethnological field.¹⁹

Harry Barnes describes the impact of Morgan's work with the following statement:

No other book ever published in the field of social science has ever exerted so great of an influence upon our ideas regarding the evolution of social institutions as did Morgan's *Ancient Society*. For a generation it was the bible of anthropologists and sociologists.²⁰

The work of Morgan has played an integral role in the classification of African cultures, and civilizations. Since the United States had only one African colony (Liberia), American anthropological studies in general and especially the work of Morgan focused on the North American Native American and the indigenous Hawaiians. Morgan's kinship classification systems have been imposed on African societies by Eurocentric anthropologists.²¹

Africans in the United States had been freed less than seven years, at the time when Morgan's work appeared, and Africa would be subdued in less than fifteen years after its debut.²² In order to justify their actions, and to prove the inferiority of non-European peoples, particularly African, Europeans turned to a new weapon, which they called, "science".

John Haller Jr., in his work, *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority 1859–1900*, states:

For many educated Americans who shunned the stigma of racial prejudice, science became an instrument which "verified" the presumptive inferiority of the Negro.²³

Under this rubric of science, race, culture, and civilization were used synonymously. Racial stereotypes became racial characteristics, which in turn became hereditary and immutable and projected onto civilizations, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, Greece, and Rome.²⁴

Egyptology emerged as a discipline in this climate of pseudo-science and psychological malaise, making it problematic and almost impossible for European scholars to recognize ancient Egypt as a Black African civilization. Egyptologists borrowed freely from these anthropological theories to analyze the civilization of ancient Egypt.

As a result several ill fated myths such as the “Dynastic Race”, “Hamitic Myth”, and the “Dark Red Race”, were born and used to explain the origin of ancient Egyptian civilization.²⁵ While Egyptologists have gathered vast amounts of data on ancient Egypt, their ethnic and racial biases have influenced their analysis and presentation.

By highlighting the work of Hegel and Morgan, the thrust of Diop’s work can be seen in context. Diop’s work in some respect was a direct response to the conceptualization of the world as laid out in Hegel’s *Philosophy of History*, and the evolutionary scheme in Morgan’s *Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family and Ancient Society*.

For example in the case of Hegel, particularly in his views of Africa, Diop proceeded from the opposing spectrum:

Hegel	Diop
Africa Proper	Black Africa
Negro, Negroes	Negro, Negroes
Negro culture occupies the threshold of World History.	Negro culture is the foremost in World History, it engendered all others.
Africa is no historical part of the world.	Africa is the cradle of humanity; the first step and time on the real theater of history.
Africa has no movement or development to exhibit.	Africa starts the movement and development of human history.
Egypt does not belong to the African sprit.	Egypt does belong to the African spirit.
The negroes are capable of no development or culture.	The Cultural Unity of Black Africa.
The only essential connection that has existed and continued between Negroes and Europeans is that of slavery. The creation of the “Negro” myth.	The concept of “pre-colonial” Black Africa with states struggling against the “falsification of world history”.
At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again.	Africans must look to Africa to regain their historical memory. ²⁶

And in the case of Morgan and the evolutionary paradigm dominant in anthropology, Diop proposed two theories: The Monogenetic Theory of Humanity and the Two Cradle Theory.²⁷

AFRICAN-AMERICANS AND THE IDEA OF BLACK AFRICAN EGYPT

Africans enslaved in America and those who were considered quasi-free were aware that Egypt and Ethiopia were located geographically in Africa. And through their encounter with Christianity most held Psalms 68:31 “Princes shall come out of Egypt, and Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hand to god” in great esteem. Numerous books, pamphlets, and early Black abolitionist newspapers cited this passage in abundance.²⁸ Along with the religious aspects, several early African-American intellectuals embraced the idea of a Black African Egypt. Jacob Carruthers had divided these scholars into three groups. The first is identified as the “Old Scrappers”, a term coined by Anderson Thompson.

These old scrappers without any special training, but with a sincere dedication of ferreting out the truth about the Black past and destroying the big lie of Black historical and cultural inferiority took whatever data was available and squeezed as much truth from it as circumstances allowed ... This tradition has been an honorable endeavor and has taught us much.²⁹

The next group of African-American scholars to deal with ancient Egyptian civilization Carruthers categorises as interjecting the integrationist strain of thought about ancient Egyptian society when he states:

They have argued only that Blacks had a share in building the Egyptian civilization along with other races. This strain is completely enthralled to European historiography.³⁰

Carruthers sees the third group as a progressive extension of the “old scrappers”:

These scholars have developed the multidisciplinary skills to take command of the facts of the African past which is a necessary element of the foundation for African historiography.³¹

Cheikh Anta Diop holds a special place among African scholars who have attempted to deal with ancient Egyptian civilization. African-American scholars have been the principal proponents of the work and ideas of Diop, along with Theophile Obenga.³² Diop was the first African who was a school-trained Egyptologist, and combining this training with expertise in history, philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, and physics.³³ Diop was a scholar who challenged European Egyptologists on their own ground. Diop's work became well known in the United States after 1974. In 1974, Cheikh Anta Diop and Theophile Obenga participated in a symposium in Cairo entitled: *The Peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of Meroitic Script*. The Cairo symposium has been dubbed the turning point in regard to African historiography and Egyptology. More importantly the idea that Diop and Obenga presented and developed became the first chapter in *Unesco's General History of Africa* and gained a wider audience.³⁴

As African-American Studies, Black Studies, and Africana Studies emerged in the late 1960's questions arose about the conceptualization of knowledge. African-American studies began the internal and external process of defining its discipline. It begged the question was it "Black Studies" or the "Study of Black" that gave the discipline its uniqueness.³⁵

Molefi Asante, who posited the Afrocentric theory and instituted a paradigm in the approach to African phenomena, used Diop's concept of African-centeredness to redirect philosophical and historical inquiry into the role of Africa prior to European or Arab invasion.³⁶ This link was solidified when Molefi Asante invited Theophile Obenga to join the Department of African-American Studies at Temple University. This work grows out of that link, and its historical context.

A basic problem for scholars in Egyptology concerns the ancient Egyptian family and social organization. Some Egyptologists state that ancient Egyptian society was organized along matrilineal lines. Flinders Petrie for example in his work entitled, *Social Life In Ancient Egypt*, makes the following observation:

In questions of descent the female line was principally regarded. The mother's name is always given, the father's name may be omitted; the ancestors are always traced farther back in the female than in the male line. The father was only a holder of office; the mother was the family link.³⁷

Similarly, Margaret Murray comments on the social organization of ancient Egyptian society in her work, *The Splendour That Was Egypt: A General Survey Of Egyptian Culture and Civilization*, in the

following manner:

In any sociological study of ancient Egypt the status of women must be clearly understood. Though they had the usual importance which mothers of families have in any country, they enjoyed a peculiar position from the fact that all landed property descended in the female line from mother to daughter. The entail in the female line seems to have been fairly strict, and nowhere so strict as in the royal family.³⁸

Peter Clayton in his book *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* states:

Presumably the foundation of the dynasty was cemented by marriage with the female heir of the last King of the second dynasty, the matrilineal nature of ancient Egyptian society being evident from the earliest of times.³⁹

Cheikh Anta Diop also explains the ancient Egyptian family and social organization as being matrilineal in his work *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* when he states unequivocally, "The matriarchal system is the base of social organization in Egypt".⁴⁰

Adolph Erman states in his text, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, that the ancient Egyptians placed the emphasis on descent through the mother's line:

The esteem which the son felt for his mother was so great that in the tombs of the Old Empire, the mother of the deceased is as a rule represented there with the wife, while the father rarely appears. On the funerary stelae of later times also, it is usual custom to trace the descent of the deceased on the mother's side, and not as we usually do, on that of the father.⁴¹

However, other Egyptologists argue that the ancient Egyptian family and social organization was patrilineal. Annie Forgeau's article entitled, "The Survival of the Family Name and the Pharaonic Order" draws the following conclusion on ancient Egyptian social organization:

The rule of succession, from brother to brother until the branch became extinct, and from uncle to son of the eldest brother is further evidence of the greater importance attached to patrilinearity.⁴²

This position is also reiterated by David O'Connor in his book *Ancient*

Egyptian Society, where he states:

Gender can play a powerful role in social organization, and whatever the situation might have been earlier, historic Egypt was organized along patriarchal lines.⁴³

The same position was taken by Paul Johnson in his work, *The Civilization of Ancient Egypt*:

Ancient Egypt never really emerged from the patriarchal mould of family-state.... The atmosphere of ancient Egypt was thus patriarchal almost to the end.⁴⁴

Barry Kemp in his work *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, when referring to the “succession system” states:

That an unusual manipulation of the succession system was involved has long been evident and recent suggestion is that ... the succession was patrilineal, i.e. father-son.⁴⁵

These diametrically opposed views about the social organization of ancient Egyptian families’ calls for further examination and clarification. The questions demand close research.

In this book I re-examine the ancient Egyptian family and social organization from an Afrocentric perspective. To do this I must use techniques from cultural anthropology and Egyptology, through the framework of Africalogy. By studying the kinship terminology of the ancient Egyptians from an Afrocentric perspective this study hopes to illustrate the true nature of ancient Egyptian family and social organization.

Egyptologists have produced vast amounts of data on various aspects of the ancient Egyptian society, such as family, women, marriage, sexual life, and customs. This information has primarily been developed from ancient Egypt’s archaeological and textual records. Egyptologists believe that the data (archaeological and textual record) provide the answers to any question surrounding ancient Egyptian society; it needs only to be translated or excavated.⁴⁶ Since Egyptology is a combination of archaeology, philology, and linguistics, the interpretation of these data has been of great interest to other disciplines.

Few works combining Egyptology and anthropology have been attempted. The August 1976 issue of the *Royal Anthropological Institute News* (R.A.I.N) featured articles by Egyptologists and anthropologists. And in 1979, Kent Weeks edited a collection of essays entitled: *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*. Bruce Trigger’s

work *Early Civilizations: Ancient Egypt in Context* grew out the article he wrote in *Egyptology and The Social Sciences*. These studies failed to address the question of the ancient Egyptian family and social organization.

Literature and numerous studies have been produced on certain aspects of ancient Egyptian society, marriage, family, women, sexual life, and customs. But these studies deal with kinship in an allusive manner. In nineteen twenty-seven, M. Murray published an article in the journal *Ancient Egypt* entitled: “Genealogies of the Middle Kingdom”. This article is often cited to give credibility to the popular albeit erroneous assumption that ancient Egypt (Pharaonic) was rampant with consanguineous marriages; that is brother/sister and father/daughter. Indeed, what this article illustrated was Murray’s unfamiliarity with the indigenous meaning of ancient Egyptian kinship terms. Consequently, Murray disposes of the idea that kinship terms such as   *snt* (sister), and   *Hmt* (wife), may have different cultural connotations than those of Europe. Murray states emphatically:

It is often argued that the terms of relationship were not as strictly applied as at the present day, and that when a woman is said to be a “sister of a man”, the word may mean “wife’s sister”, “brother’s wife”, paternal or maternal aunt, niece or even cousin; but this can hardly be the case.⁴⁷

Although Murray suggests that the ancient Egyptian kinship terms may not be similar to those of European (Western) usage, these differences are still explained in the context of European kinship and family relationships. In the polite world of Egyptology, J. Cerny dismissed Murray’s conclusions with a footnote in an article entitled, “Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt”. Cerny states the following:

I should like to point out that this method of establishing consanguineous marriages is not new. Miss Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, 1927, 45ff, has used some of my stelae and also some other in this way to indict the Egyptians for the customs of marrying not only their sisters, but also their daughters, and their mothers. Her reconstructions of genealogies seem to me incorrect and I cannot accept her conclusions. Lack of space however prevents me from refuting her assertions in detail here.⁴⁸

In fact Cerny’s study was designed to identify whether

consanguineous marriages existed in Pharaonic Egypt.⁴⁹ In his introduction Cerny states:

Though no serious attempt has ever been made systematically to collect evidence of consanguineous marriages Egyptologists seem always to have accepted their existence without stating clearly their reasons for such belief.⁵⁰

Cerny gives three main reasons why these assumptions are held with no corroborating evidence: (1) the Greco-Roman Period, (2), testimony from classical authors, and (3), Egyptian wives of all periods were called “sisters”.⁵¹ Cerny studied three hundred and fifty-eight stelae ranging from the First Intermediate Period down to the Eighteenth Dynasty, also the sixty-eight houses at Der el Medinah and concluded, “We have no certain instances of a marriage between full brother and sister”.⁵²

While Cerny’s study set the standard for ancient Egyptian marriage, he does not deal directly with kinship terms or the different types of marriages in ancient Egyptian society.

Even after Cerny’s work apparently laid to rest the idea of consanguineous marriages in ancient Egypt, there appeared another article on the subject by Russell Middleton. Middleton’s article was entitled: “Brother/Sister and Father/Daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt”.⁵³ Middleton’s article did not include any analysis of ancient Egyptian kinship terms in his assessment of ancient Egyptian marriage. Middleton’s major flaw in analyzing ancient Egyptian marriage is that he combines Pharaonic Egypt with the Greco-Roman period in Egypt without distinguishing the differences between the two periods.⁵⁴

Also, Middleton cites Murray as his authority on Pharaonic Egyptian consanguineous marriages, a source that had already been discredited. In spite of their weaknesses Murray’s and Middleton’s articles are cited to substantiate claims of consanguineous marriages in ancient Egypt, even when it has been shown that they have a complete lack of knowledge of ancient Egyptian kinship terms and family social organization.

When marriage is dealt with directly as it was in P. W. Pestman’s work entitled: *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of Women*, the interrelatedness of kinship terms and social organization are never considered directly by Pestman. In fact he states:

The position of children in the family law as well as the law of succession will be left out of consideration as these subjects

require special study.⁵⁵

By failing to examine the law of succession Pestman is able to single out “women” as if they were a separate entity in society. A shortcoming of Pestman’s study is his failure to acknowledge that women existed as individuals and as members of a family. Although, a woman may reach a status that may be termed “adulthood”, in fact, she remains a child of another group of adults (parents). Moreover, her place in the family and society could have well been established as a “child”, by birth order, parental lineage, and gender. All of these could directly affect a woman’s “legal” entitlement to family property. Also, since it is well known that marriage in ancient Egypt was a cultural event, not a legal or religious matter,⁵⁶ the ideal of “property” entitlement is a fascination of Western civilization, and shows a clear Eurocentric bias.

When more contemporary work is examined on the ancient Egyptian family we find that kinship and social organization are not dealt with in a direct manner. Sheila Whale’s work entitled: *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs*, is laced with the same ambiguities in regard to ancient Egyptian kinship, family and social organization. Whale’s study is an analysis of 93 tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A key aspect of Whale’s work is the “Analysis of Family Relationships and Family Structure in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt”, yet she realizes the problems posed by ancient Egyptian kinship terms for Eurocentric analysis. Whale addresses the problem in this manner:

The oversimplified terminology of the kinship system in ancient Egypt makes it difficult at times to determine who-was-who in the extended family structure. The kinship terminology was purely descriptive but its simplicity does not imply that it was by any means a primitive system.⁵⁷

Whale further states that she does not seek to engage “in an in-depth discussion of kinship terms”.⁵⁸ This is quite astonishing since one of the main objectives of Whale’s work is to:

Ascertain whether the prominence of the mother in the tomb of her son at this time implies a matrilineal society in which the influence of the mother is paramount in the household of her son, or whether there are some other explanations for the role she plays in some tombs.⁵⁹

By discarding kinship as the central focus of her analysis Whale is privileged to place her own arbitrary criteria as to why the mother appears in the tombs of her sons with a higher regularity than the father.

In the literature produced on women in ancient Egypt the same ambiguity and imposition of western/European contextualization exists. In her work *Women in Ancient Egypt*, Gay Robins states:

It is possible that some of the families appear larger than they actually were, if some members labeled with kinship terms,  zA (son) or  zAt (daughter), traditionally translated as son and daughter, were actually grandchildren, or the spouse's children, since these two terms also encompass these relationships.... terms  sn and  snt traditionally rendered as brother and sister.... could be collateral relatives, equivalent to cousins, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, or in laws.⁶⁰

The same complications are further spelled out in Joyce Tyldesley's work entitled, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt*. Tyldesley comments on the complicated Egyptian kinship terms in this manner:

Unfortunately for modern observers, the Egyptians employed a relative restricted kinship terminology, and only the basic nuclear family was classified by precise terms. All others have to be identified in a more laborious manner.⁶¹

Certainly, this idea of “laborious” kinship terminology has been imposed on the ancient Egyptians from the outside. *Life of the Ancient Egyptians* by Eugene Strouhal follows the same pattern of ambiguous references to ancient Egyptian kinship by stating:

The kinship term in old Egyptian show the basic unit of society was the nuclear family. They only define relationships of the close sort-father, mother, sister, brother. There were no names for more distant relationships and those had to be paraphrased.⁶²

The works cited illustrate the ambiguity that surrounds ancient Egyptian kinship terms. The lack of comprehension is clearly illustrated by statements that Egyptian kinship terms are “laborious” or have to be “paraphrased”. The studies by Egyptologists on ancient Egyptian kinship show little agreement with regard to the type of system or rules of descent used by the ancient Egyptians.

In 1979, Gay Robins produced a study in *Chronique d' Egypte* entitled, "The Relationship Terms Specified By Egyptian Kinship Terminology Of The Middle and New Kingdoms" in which she opened by stating:

My description of their use does not claim to be complete, and there are many problems still to be solved; there is no comprehensive study of terms.⁶³

M.L. Bierbrier followed Robins' attempt with a study entitled, "Terms of Relationship at Deir El-Medinah", in which he concluded:

Terms of relationship in the Tombs-reliefs and stelae usually do indicate an actual relationship rather than a vague affinity, but the terms may have a wider meaning than have hitherto been supposed.⁶⁴

H.H. Willems was the next to embark on a systematic study of ancient Egyptian kinship with his article, "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom, c.2000–1650." The aim of Willems' study was to fill the gap in the previous studies of ancient Egyptian kinship by providing formal rules governing ancient Egyptian terms. His data are drawn strictly from Middle Kingdom stelae, which, he says, exhibit a strong "maternal bias". Willems also offered strong critiques of the previous work done by Robins and Bierbrier, especially in the area of structural interpretation of the ancient Egyptian kinship system. Willems' conclusion is that "It is now possible to state the rules underlying the ancient Egyptian kinship terminology".⁶⁵ Willems' research led him to reject the conclusions of Jansen, who concluded that the ancient Egyptian kinship system was "Hawaiian", and also the conclusion of Fattovich, that the ancient Egyptian kinship system was "Kariera". Willems' own conclusion is that the ancient Egyptian kinship system fits into Scheffler's class of systems with intergeneration extension rules, together with the Maygar system.⁶⁶

To date, all studies on ancient Egyptian kinship terms fail to agree on the nature of their kinship system or social organization. Although ancient Egyptian kinship terms have been somewhat clarified, their use and the kinship system require further study. Robins and Birebrier draw no conclusion on the type of kinship system used by the ancient Egyptians in their work. While Fattovich sees it as Kariera, and Jensen describes it as Hawaiian, and Willems describes it as a Maygar system with intergeneration extension rules, Franke determines the system to be both Symmetrical and Bilateral.⁶⁷ Consequently, since there is no agreement as to the nature of ancient Egyptian kinship that clarifies its

social organization, further study of this topic is needed.

More important, Egyptologists have imposed Western (Indo-European) kinship terminology upon ancient Egyptian society by mechanically following Western kinship terms. For example:

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *sn n mwt.i* which is literally “brother of my mother” or “mother’s brother”, is typically referred to as “Uncle”. For example, Annie Forgeau states:

The rule of succession, from brother to brother until the branch became extinct, and from **uncle** to son of the eldest brother is further evidence of the greater importance attached to *patrilinearity*.⁶⁸ (emphasis mine).

In Western/European kinship terminology, the term uncle has several components, one is that it designates a male, and could encompass generations above and below that of a related relative. Consequently, it could be one’s Mother’s Brother, or Mother’s Sister’s Husband, or Husband’s Father’s Brother, or Father’s Sister’s Husband.⁶⁹ By reexamining Forgeau’s statement without the Western imposition of kinship terminology, a different reality appears:

The succession, from brother to brother until the branch became extinct, and from **mother’s brother** to son of the eldest brother is further evidence of the greater importance attached to patrilinearity (emphasis mine).

The change in kinship terminology from uncle to mother’s brother, alters the entire context of Foergeau’s assumptions and makes the question of patrilinearity dubious at best. In fact, the term mother’s brother could be said to demonstrate the importance attached to matrilinearity. This type of imposition of kinship terminology alters the comprehension and reality of ancient Egyptian kinship terms and social organization. E.L. Schusky in his work *Manual for Kinship Analysis* states “A translation of the foreign term into the nearest English categories distorts the meaning”.⁷⁰

By proceeding from a Western/European perspective, Egyptologists not only impose Western/European kinship terms on ancient Egyptian society, they also impose cultural connotations and values to these terms. Indeed, kinship and social organization are primarily patterns of behavior determined by culture. These become of paramount importance when understood in their relation to kinship analysis. According to David M. Schneider:

There may be, for instance, a patrilineal or matrilineal line which an observer can trace, or which a member of the society

can trace, but unless this line is culturally distinguished in some ways it does not constitute a descent unit.⁷¹

The failure to examine ancient Egyptian kinship terms and social organization from an Afrocentric perspective has led to these many different conflicting conclusions.

A glaring omission of the studies on ancient Egyptian kinship and social organization is the impact of the polygynous family unit. Kelly Simpson's article, entitled "Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?" cites thirteen cases of probable polygamy and Naguib Kanawati's article "Polygamy in the Old Kingdom of Egypt?" lists sixteen probable cases of polygamy.⁷² Neither Simpson's nor Kanawati's work analyzes the social implications of polygynous marriages on family and social organization. In a society where polygamy is an accepted form of marriage, kinship family and social organization are all impacted. While this study's focus is not polygynous relationships, it does seek to acknowledge their existence and analyze the implications of this type of socially accepted marriage may have on the overall social organization.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Kinship is the structured system of relationships that binds individuals to one another through interwoven and reciprocal ties. The point of departure for most analysis of kinship in nearly all societies is the nuclear family, which is mother, father, and children.⁷³

In all societies each individual is usually linked to two such nuclear families. The first establishes their relationship with their parents and siblings, which anthropologists call their family of orientation. Secondly individuals are linked by families they create themselves through marriage, thereby creating relationships with their spouse, their spouse's family, and their offspring, which anthropologists call their family of procreation.⁷⁴ Thus it is membership created by individuals as they become connected to two or more nuclear families that gives rise to kinship systems and social organization.

A basic component of social organization is to identify categories into which different relatives can be grouped. The social relationship between a person and his relatives entails obligations, attitudes, rights, and behaviors. The context of these relationships is determined by the category to which they belong. Kinship terminology is the way to identify and establish those categories.⁷⁵

It is very difficult and sometimes confusing to relate kinship terminology from a foreign language or culture. Ethnologists have traditionally sought to solve this problem with fieldwork. They would primarily live among the group they wished to study. By learning the language and observing the culture Ethnologists are able to ascertain kinship terminologies and their context.⁷⁶

Since there are no living descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and living ancient Egyptians to be interviewed traditional fieldwork is impossible in our case. Consequently, the ancient Egyptians can not disagree with their interpreters or maintain secret information. Therefore, what is known about the ancient Egyptian culture is through interpretation. We can, just as Western scholars employed Eurocentric analysis, employ Africalogical analysis to the archaeological records left to us by the ancient Egyptians on stelae, statues, and paintings on walls of tombs.

In most cases anthropologists examine a family structure through a designate they term *Ego*.⁷⁷ Most Egyptologists have used the same method when analyzing the ancient Egyptian family and social

organization, by primarily designating *Ego* as the tomb owner, or the individual who had the stelae or statue commissioned. I employed this same method when analyzing ancient Egyptian stelae.

I looked at all members on the statue or stele or painted on the walls of tombs in the context of reciprocal relationships to all members depicted or listed. One primary assumption I made is that everyone depicted on the stelae, statue, or painted on the walls of tombs are members of the same household.

Consequently, family members have a relationship to *Ego*, but to other members of the family as well. This book seeks to examine the full range of relationships of all family members. I believe in this way we can best understand the full range of ancient Egyptian kinship terms, and their implications for social organization. In anthropology diagrams and abbreviations are used to clarify exact relationships.⁷⁸ (See diagrams 1 and 2).

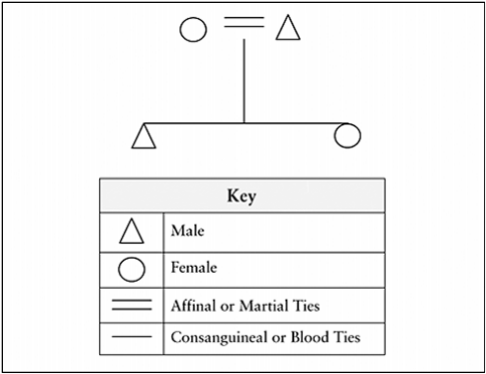


Diagram 1. An Elementary Family

Consanguineal or Blood Ties

Father	Fa
Mother	Mo
Husband	Hu
Wife	Wi
Brother	Br
Sister	Si
Son	So
Daughter	Da

These abbreviations may be strung together without apostrophes to indicate a more remote relationship. For example:

MoBr = Mother's Brother
MoMoMo = Mother's Mother's Mother
HuWiSi = Husband's Wife's Sister

Diagram 2. Abbreviations of Kinship Terminology

STELAE, PAINTINGS ON THE WALLS OF TOMBS AND STATUES

A stela is a record of a public or private matter usually carved or inscribed on stone for commemorative purposes. Public matters in most cases were national events such as wars, ceremonies dealing with foundations of sacred buildings, and rituals; where-as private matters were usually of a funerary nature. Funerary stelae are an excellent source for kinship terms because while paying tribute to a specific deity they usually recorded the names and relationship of family members for eternity. Since stelae deal directly with family, they remain biographies left to us by the ancient Egyptians. Stelae are also more representative of lower and middle social groups, unlike tombs which represent the upper groups.⁷⁹ Stelae were used in ancient Egypt as early as the First Dynasty. Therefore, they constitute a basic source of information for kinship terms.

Ancient Egyptian stelae are not only inscribed, but also have pictorial depiction of those involved in the commemoration. Thus stelae provide a primary source of information, which is written as well as pictorial.⁸⁰

Tombs illustrate clear examples of family relations of various categories expressed in activities. In most cases the individuals represented are shown in great detail as to scale and style and texts, which include names and kinship terminology. Tombs were a way in which ancient Egyptians connected the living and the dead, humans and gods. They also give full glimpses of the ancient Egyptian family and social organization. A number of tombs have remained in excellent condition (Beni Hasan, Meir, Thebes, Aswan). Tombs were established in ancient Egypt as early as the Second Dynasty, but usually represented the upper social groups. Statues were known in ancient Egypt since the Fifth Dynasty and were commissioned by Egyptians as a way to perpetuate oneself for eternity. Statues illustrate the affinal bond between husband and wife, and family in ancient Egypt.

It is not necessary to make new excavations as far as stelae, statues and tombs are concerned because there exists numerous stelae outside of Egypt with references in catalogs, books, museum collections, and journals. This is why it is possible to use stelae, statues, and paintings on walls of tombs from the various time periods needed for this book.

However with the assistance of Theophile Obenga I performed fieldwork in the Republic of Congo to enhance my knowledge and understanding of the African family and social organization.

LISTING DATA

Medium: Whenever possible, all stones are listed by proper geological terms, e.g., limestone, granite, etc.

Provenance: Those objects with severally recorded provenances are recorded in one of two ways. Those known to have come from a particular site or monument are listed accordingly, e.g., from *Thebes*, *Tomb of Queen Norfu*. Those objects with recorded excavation history are qualified by the term excavated “at”. Those objects whose origins may be assigned on the basis of recorded parallels or compelling circumstantial evidence are qualified by the term “probably from”. Those objects with unconfirmed provenance information from museums records are qualified by the terms “reportedly from”, or “said to be from”. For those objects with no indication of source or origin the term “provenance unknown” will be employed.

Dating of works: This study follows the archaeological finding context, inscription evidence and style. Sequence of dates adheres to the following general chronology used in this work.

Dimensions: All dimensions are recorded in centimeters.

Data Selection: The data were chosen based on its clear representation of family ties and kinship terms.

EGYPTOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Since stelae, statues, and other inscriptions studied are in the Egyptian language, their analysis requires an understanding of ancient Egyptian language coupled with philological techniques, restoration, comparison, language study, and critical evaluation. My knowledge of ancient Egyptian language will allow me to translate the stelae used in my study. With regard to other inscriptions, it allows me to ask critical questions of the “standard” works in Egyptology that are seen as the authority. For transliterations I will follow the computer generated system.⁸¹

However, I also rely on the translations that were done by other Egyptologists. I have, whenever possible, obtained and used for clarification, or emphasis, either photographs or photocopies of stelae, statues, and paintings on walls of tombs. I will then examine the kinship terms and the network of social kinship relationships created. When translated Egyptian words are used in English sentences they will be italicized, for example *ankh*, which means life.

The material used for comparing ancient Egyptian kinship terms with those of Indo-European, Semitic and Black African will be taken from dictionaries. I am fully aware of the inadequacy of material culled from dictionaries, yet in this case this method is inevitable.

I believe that this is the first volume to use the Afrocentric paradigm to examine ancient Egyptian kinship, family, and social organization. It is based on the assumption of cultural commonalities in Africa. As shown in the previous literature review all other studies have proceeded from a Eurocentric perspective.

The centrality of the Classical African civilization in the rescue and reconstruction of African historical memory is a key tenet of the Afrocentric project.⁸² Ancient Egypt is Africa’s most anterior Classical civilization; therefore it is the keystone to any approach to understanding African history. Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop emphasizes this point correctly when he states: “Ancient Egypt was a Negro civilization. The history of Black Africa will remain suspended in air and cannot be written correctly until African historians dare connect with the history of Egypt.”⁸³

Molefi K. Asante has laid out the essential theory and paradigmatic assumptions of the discipline of Africalogy, which is the Afrocentric study of phenomena, events, ideas, and personalities, related to Africa,

in a trilogy of works, entitled, *Afrocentricity*, *The Afrocentric Idea*, and *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*. Asante has consistently argued that African or African-American studies departments and scholars must begin analysis from the primacy of classical African civilizations, namely Egypt (Kemet). Asante states:

The anteriority of the classical African civilizations must be maintained in any Africological inquiry. Classical references are necessary as baseline frames for discussing the development of African cultural phenomena. Without such reference points most research would appear disconnected, without historical continuity, discrete and isolated, incidental and nonorganic.⁸⁴

Asante explains that the Afrocentric enterprise is framed by cosmological, epistemological, axiological, and aesthetic issues. In this regard the Afrocentric method pursues a world voice distinctly African-centered.⁸⁵

This book deals with an epistemological issue. By that I mean that this work seeks to understand the culture of ancient Egypt by first understanding African culture. This was the process used by Cheikh Anta Diop, to free ancient Egypt from “scientific colonialism”⁸⁶

The Afrocentric method seeks to advance knowledge of African people by using procedures that are holistic, integrative, and grounded in an Afrocentric worldview.

Of course my work is analytical and descriptive, but is guided by the theoretical course assumptions spelled out in the discipline of Africology. Asante has stated clearly that “Africology rejects the Africanist idea of separating Africa and African people as being short sighted, analytically vapid, and philosophically unsound.”⁸⁷ This perspective is essential to this study. Tsehloane Keto’s works, *The Africa Centered Perspective of History: An Introduction*, and *Vision, Identity and Time: The Afrocentric Paradigm and the Study of the Past*, lend guidance in this direction. Keto states unequivocally that:

premise that it is legitimate and intellectually useful to treat the continent of Africa as a geographical and cultural starting point, a center so to speak, that serves as a reference point in the process of gathering and interpreting historical knowledge. The Africa-centered perspective of history rests on a unpretentious common sense about peoples of African decent throughout the world and in Africa itself.⁸⁸

Thus, Afrocentric methodology requires a new historiography.

By establishing ancient Egyptian kinship terms from an Afrocentric perspective, that is from inside, it will allow us to compare ancient Egyptian kinship terms with Indo-European, Semitic and Black African kinship terms. The evidence of this study will allow us to corroborate Cheikh Anta Diop's Two Cradle Theory, thus providing an Afrocentric perspective of ancient Egyptian history and culture. This book hopes to lead to a new interpretation of an ancient Egypt family and social organization, one that is consistent with its African history, and is matrilineal. Therefore, the idea of a patrilineal ancient Egyptian social structure should be abandoned.

TERMINOLOGY

A key aspect of this study is to illustrate that the ancient Egyptian family and social organization were matrilineal. This principle was first pointed out by Cheikh Anta Diop in his work *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* Diop states “Matriarchy is the base of social organization in Egypt and throughout Black Africa”.⁸⁹ Although the terms matriarchy and patriarchy are used synonymously with matrilineal and patrilineal by the non-specialist, these terms are far from identical. True “matriarchy,” that is, complete rule by women has never been found in any society.⁹⁰ However, matrilineal descent, where rights, duties, and obligations are passed through the female line exist, as Diop stated, throughout Africa.⁹¹ When a society is organized matrilineal, it is not the mere reversed image of a patrilineal society. What is reversed is that the children of born in these societies belong to the mother’s people and the mother’s brother exerts primary control of the children.

Therefore, when Diop states matriarchy, this study operationalizes that to mean matrilineal social organization: a society where women share gender equity, political power, social equity, and material equity. Matrilineal social organization allows the “birth right” or descent to be traced through the female line, while power can be exercised by men or women.

Diop states clearly that it is impossible that the Northern Cradle-favorable nomadic life, and the Southern Cradle-favorable to sedentary life and agriculture, “could have produced the same types of social organization.”⁹²

This study operationalizes social organization as the enduring, culturally patterned relationships between individuals or groups.⁹³

I have used the term “Egypt” to refer to Africa’s classical civilization. This was done so that the terminology would reflect clearly and consistently the literature reviewed by Egyptologists in articles and texts. However, in the body of my work I will refer to Africa’s most ancient civilization by its authentic name, which is Kemet. The name Kemet was used by the Africans who built a Pharaonic civilization to describe their country. The name Kemet means literally “the country of the Black men” or “region inhabited by Black men”, or “Black City”. Of course this interpretation is questioned by most Eurocentric and Semitic-centered Egyptologists,

who translate *Kemet* as “Black earth” from the color of the loam or “Black country”.⁹⁴

When the word *Kemet* is written  *kmt* the point of contention is the determinative.⁹⁵ A determinative is an ideogram or sign used at the end of a word in order to clarify the meaning in a general way of the word in question. Determinatives are not to be read or translated.⁹⁶ The determinative used at the end of the word *Kemet* is  which is a village with crossroads, Gardiner sign list O49. Interestingly enough the sign falls under section “O”, which is buildings, parts of buildings, etc., indicating “man-made things”, such as “cities”. Therefore the translation by Eurocentric and Semitic- centered Egyptologists of “Black land” is to be questioned. The signs for land are  t3 “land or earth”, Gardiner sign list N16, or  Gardiner sign list N18, used as determinative for desert or foreign country such as Libya , *Thnw*, or , tongue of land, Gardiner sign list N20, , tongue of land, Gardiner sign list N21,  sandy tongue of land, Gardiner sign list N22. It is clear that in the language of ancient *Kemet*, there is a variety of ideograms that are used or could be used as determinative for land.

Yet the people of ancient *Kemet* used the determinative of a city or village  with crossroads in writing the name of their country. Therefore the idea that the people of ancient *Kemet* were referring to the soil or land as black must be rejected. Furthermore when Arabs refer to *Bilad-al Sudan* as the land of the Blacks, there is no remote assumption that “land” refers to soil. But it clearly refers to a place or region inhabited by Black people, the same as is true of ancient *Kemet*. The term African is used constantly throughout this text; it is used clearly to indicate a “composite” African or

African cultural tradition; not a specific African ethnic group and its practices.⁹⁷ Also I have used the term Black Africa, for two reasons; first as a rejection of the Hegelian separation of Africa into Africa proper as “Sub-Saharan”.⁹⁸ Secondly, I follow the lead of Cheikh Anta Diop who constantly used the term “Black Africa” as a challenge to “Western” scholars by including ancient *Kemet* and “Sub-Saharan” Africa as a part of the same cultural complex.

The term “civilization” is used in various ways by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and archaeologists.⁹⁹ In some cases civilization has been used in an equivalent manner with culture. In other cases civilization has been seen as an aspect of culture, which emerges from complex societies. When used in the plural sense civilization is used to designate the world’s great class of cultures.¹⁰⁰ Invariably it has been loaded with ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism. In this work I have operationalized civilization as: the cultural grouping and identity of a people, defined by language, history, customs, and institutions.¹⁰¹

By framing the arguments put forth in this text in the broader context of civilization/s, it allows me to tap into the groundbreaking theory put forth by Fernand Braudel in his work: *A History of Civilizations*. Fernand Braudel articulated the idea that when examining a civilization over a long period of time there are patterns that emerge that allow you to identify the crucial “underlying structures.” It is these underlying structures that are essential to the existence and continuity of that civilization. These patterns and structure are only visible when one takes a long view of the civilization in question. Braudel argues that these underlying structures are ancient, distinctive, and many times original. In addition these structures give a civilization its essential outline and character, even its uniqueness that separates it from other humans who have had deal with similar ordinary human activity, such as marriage, birth, life, death, etc.¹⁰² According to Braudel:

The role of women is always a structural element in any civilization-a test: it is a long lived reality, resistant to external pressure, and hard to change overnight. A civilization generally refuses to accept a cultural innovation that calls into question one of its structural element.¹⁰³

The examination of ancient Egyptian kinship terms and social structure in this work demonstrates the clearly Braudel theory as it relates to the role of women in a civilization. While also offering the emphatic demonstration that the civilization of ancient Egypt could not have emerged from a Semitic civilization or Indo-European civilization, because the historic role and position of women in those civilizations are diametrically opposed to those in ancient Egyptian civilization.¹⁰⁴

3

The Family in Ancient Egyptian Society

A key component used by Cheikh Anta Diop to support his thesis of an African origin of ancient Egyptian civilization is its matrilineal family and social organization. Diop demonstrates that this type of family structure grows out of material conditions that favor agricultural food production, and a sedentary lifestyle. Diop explains the impact these material factors have on the status of women by stating:

In fact it is only in this framework that the wife can, in spite of her physical inferiority, contribute substantially to the economic life. She even becomes one of the stabilizing elements in her capacity as mistress of the house and keeper of the food.¹

Also, it is known that during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, textile manufacturing was conducted exclusively by women and they continued to play a large role in it during the New Kingdom. Women clothed their families and were able to trade any surplus they may have accumulated. This factor along with her contributions in food production(Agriculture), made women in ancient Egyptian society an economic asset.²

The “status” of women is a fundamental criterion that distinguishes ancient Egypt from ancient Semitic civilizations such as Mesopotamia and Babylon, as well as ancient Indo-European societies such as Greece and Rome. Diop emphasizes this point with the following observation:

Moreover this situation has been unchanged since ancient times: the couples to be seen on the African monuments of Egypt are united by tenderness, a friendship, an intimate common life-the like which is not to be found in the Eurasian world of this period: Greece, Rome, and Asia. This fact, in itself, would tend to prove that ancient Egypt was not Semitic: in the Semitic tradition, the history of the world begins with the fall of man, his ruin being caused by a woman (the myth of

This chapter illustrates the typology of the family in ancient Egyptian society; it also demonstrates the tenderness, friendship, and intimacy that Diop posits.

Marriage is the crucial link between family and social organization. Marriage is defined as a union between a man (husband) and a woman (wife). This union is both economic and sexual, known to other members of society, accepted by them and considered to be permanent. Those linked by marriage are termed affines. Married couples provide the affinal links which bind two existing families. These links are cemented by the birth of children who provide the consanguineal ties. Affinal and consanguineal ties form the basis of the family institution.⁴

Marriage was the primary institution of social life in ancient Egypt, although no term exists that denotes marriage as such. Marriage in ancient Egypt did not involve a religious ceremony or require a legal certificate, but it appears to have been a private act between families, which was culturally recognized.⁵ This point can not be understated, because it illustrates the fact that the ancient Egyptian family was not built on a “legal” basis. Therefore terms such as mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law, have no internal cultural basis in describing the ancient Egyptian family.

Since the ancient Egyptians never codified their laws into specific collections such as the Code of Hammurabi, it is difficult to ascertain precise knowledge about marriage in Pharaonic Egypt. There are no legislative texts that exist, public or private, that govern family practices. Therefore in order to obtain an intimate glimpse of family life in ancient Egypt it is necessary to search through and compare disparate sources, both iconographic, and written.⁶

The Egyptians used the term,  *grg pr*, which simply means to “found or establish your household”, and a man and a woman became married by setting up a “house” together.

Similarly “divorce” is referred to as expulsion or departure, generally the woman from the house.

The word used to denote husband is  *hii*, while the terms for wife are  *Hmt* (wife),  *snt* (sister used from the eighteenth Dynasty), and  *nbt pr*, (mistress of the house).⁷

Married couples were usually from similar social groups, and the primary function of marriage was to produce children and perpetuate the family.

The “Instruction Texts” of the ancient Egyptians provides clear advice on marriage, morality, fidelity, and the importance of having a

family. From the Old Kingdom the Instruction of Prince Hardjedef” advises his son:

When you prosper, found your household,
take a hearty wife, a son will be borne you.
It is for the son you build a house.⁸

Likewise, the Old Kingdom sage Ptah-Hotep provides similar instructions:

When you prosper and found your house,
And love your wife with ardor,
fill her belly, clothe her back,
ointment soothes her body.
Gladden her heart as you live,
she is a fertile field for her lord.⁹

Similar advice is stated in the New Kingdom Instruction of Any:

Take a Wife while you’re young,
that she make a son for you;
She should bear for you while you are youthful.
It is proper to make people.
Happy the man is people are many,
He is saluted on the account of his progeny.¹⁰

The ancient Egyptian marriage bond was one of love and respect. A suitable age for a man to marry appears to be 20, according to the teachings of the scribe Onkhsheshongy¹¹, and the bride could be even younger. Advice on how a wife should be treated in the house is given also by Any:

Do not control your wife in her house,
When you know she is efficient;
Don’t say to her: “Where is it? Get it!”
When she has put it in the right place.
Let your eyes observe in silence,
Then you recognize her skill;
It is joy when your hand is with her,
there are many who don’t understand this.
If a man desists from strife at home,
He will not meet its beginning.
Every man that founds a household
should hold back the hasty heart.¹²

Egyptologists have attempted to use the so-called marriage contracts known from the seventh century BCE and which were in continued use through the Late Period into Ptolemaic Egypt to interpret marriage in earlier periods.¹³ For example:

I have taken you as a wife. I have given you (sum of “money” listed here) as your *shep en sehemet*. If I repudiate you as a wife, be it that I hate you, be it that I want another woman as wife instead of you, I shall give you (sum of money is here listed) apart from (sum of money listed) which I have given you as your *shep en sehemet* ... And I give you 1/3 (part) of all and everything which will be between you and me from this day onwards.¹⁴

In most cases these documents also indicate that any children produced from this union will be heirs to the man’s property as well, and he promises to return the value of what the woman has brought with her to his house, regardless of whether or not she leaves of her own free will or is repudiated by him. These documents, while primarily drawn up by the man, are for the economic protection of the woman, and the disposition of property. Also the father of the bride would contribute to the new couple’s well being by donating wedding presents of domestic goods and food. He would often continue to supply grain for up to seven years, until the process of living together became a well established marriage.¹⁵

Strikingly we see that in the marriage union it is the man who brings a gift, or compensation, to the woman: *shep en sehemet*. Pestman has translated this Egyptian phrase to mean “price or compensation for marrying a woman”. This idea is totally foreign to Semitic or Indo-European cultures where women were an economic liability and had to provide dowries to secure their marriage.¹⁶ However, the idea of the man/husband bringing a gift to the bride family is typically African, and is commonly known to anthropologists and ethnologists as the “bride price” or “marriage payment”.¹⁷

Similar to marriage in ancient Egypt, African marriage is not the concern of religious or state authorities. The marriage is seen as an alliance between two families (kin groups), based on common interest, that is, the marriage union itself and the offspring of the union. The “Bogadi” as it is called among the Bechuana acts as a safeguard protecting the bride’s family in general and the bride particularly. The “marriage payment” whether it is goods, services, or cattle, is an essential part of having the marriage culturally recognized as proper or “legitimate”.¹⁸ The amount of the “bride-price” is determined by several factors, one being the status of the woman’s family in the

particular community, that is does she come from royalty or a wealth family. Also, is the status of the woman to be married, for example in contemporary African societies her status may rest upon the level of “formal/western” education she has received? Lastly, another important factor is whether the society is organized matrilineal or patrilineal family structure.¹⁹

The proper recognition of marriage primarily affects the offspring, in regards to status, inheritance, rights, and obligations. In both Black Africa and ancient Egypt the concept of “illegitimate children or bastards” is unknown.²⁰ This is a direct result of the status held by women and the matrilineal family and social organization. Along with the fact that in African societies a child is born into an extended family, and therefore does not face the same problems as a child born into the Western nuclear family organized patrilineally without the presence of the “biological” father.²¹

The primary purpose of marriage was to produce children and perpetuate the family. Children not only continued the family line but also ensured that correct rituals were conducted, and helped to provide a proper burial for their parents. At birth the child was given its name by its mother. This link between mother and child remained the vital link between family and social organization. The mother’s family was so important children were instructed not to boast “My mother’s Father has a house, a house that lasts.”²² The ancient Egyptian sage any advises the proper respect that children should have for their mother:

Double the food your mother gave you,
Support her as she supported you;
She had a heavy load in you,
But she did not abandon you.
When you were born after your months,
She was yet yoked (to you),
Her breast in your mouth for three years.
As you grew and your excrement disgusted,
She was not disgusted, saying: “What shall I do!”
When she sent you to school,
And you were taught to write,
She kept watching over you daily,
With bread (8, 1) and beer in her house.
When as a youth you take a wife,
And you are settled in your house,
Pay attention to your offspring,
Bring him up as did your mother.
Do not give her cause to blame you,

Lest she raise her hands to god,
And he hears her cries.²³

A Middle Kingdom stela illustrates the economic impact that a mother could play in her child's life:

I was a worthy citizen who acted with his arm, the foremost of his whole troop. I acquired oxen and goats. (3) I acquired granaries of Upper Egyptian barley. I acquired title to a great field. I made a boat of 30 cubits and a small boat that ferried the boatless in the inundation season. I acquired these in (5) the household of my father *Iti*; (but) it was my mother who acquired them for me.²⁴

Women in ancient *Kemet* not only were able to obtain material possessions but they were in total control of their assets. This was true in life and death. Women were able to bequeath property to heirs as well as to disinherit children.²⁵

Clearly, from the written record we see that ancient Egyptian family and social organization was focused around women. Regardless of whether they were wives, mothers, or daughters, their status remained high. Women were able to manage and acquire property, they were protected in cases of divorce, and they were the crucial link in the family structure. There is no evidence of infanticide, particularly by exposure, in the case of female children in ancient *Kemet*. Also it is becoming more and more accepted by scholars that social categories such as “concubine” or “harem-woman” did not exist in ancient *Kemet*.²⁶

Married couples (with or without) children illustrate the strong bond that was present in ancient Egyptian society. Throughout ancient Egyptian history a premium was placed on values such as fidelity, love, stability, protection, and unity.

In ancient Egyptian society there were two types of families, the monogamous family unit, and the polygamous family unit. I begin the typology of the family in ancient Egyptian society with the monogamous married couple (without children), followed by the monogamous married couple with children (Nuclear). The monogamous married couple with extended family follows. The polygamous family unit is next, represented in the same sequence as to family organization.

The ancient Kemetic Wisdom texts and iconographic evidence provide a glimpse of the family and social organization in ancient *Kemet*. From the Wisdom texts it is revealed that the ideal state of man is to be married to a woman or women, for the purpose of producing children. The iconographic evidence illustrates that the

ancient Kemetic family unit was both monogamous and polygynous in structure.²⁷ The known cases of polygamy in ancient Egypt are polygynous in structure. All children born in ancient Kemetic society were raised and seen as legitimate as a result of the matrilineal social organization.

There is no evidence found in ancient Kemet of the systematic oppression or exclusion of women from society. From the Old Kingdom women held various positions in ancient Kemetic society from pharaoh to priestess. In the case of legal documents, women were able to bequeath property, inherit property, and disinherit heirs.

Also the iconographic evidence displays clearly the love and affection that existed among ancient Kemetic husbands and wives, mothers, daughters and sisters.

4

Description of Ancient Egyptian Kinship Terms

A basic component of social organization is identifying categories into which different relatives can be placed. The social relationship between a person and his relatives entails obligations, attitudes, rights, and behavior, which are determined by the category to which they belong. Kinship terminology is a way to identify and establish those categories.¹

Kinship determines on what basis a society is built because kinship ties in terms of reference reflect, in most cases, the descent used by a society. Thus kinship terminology is a precise guide to study family, and social organization of a given ethnic group. In the book, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, the author A.R. Radcliffe-Brown states:

In the actual study of a kinship system the nomenclature is of the utmost importance. It affords the best possible approach to the investigation and analysis of the kinship systems as a whole.²

Every language has its own words to designate family members. In some cases it uses a classification system that is different from every other language and culture. A comprehensive examination of the relationship between language and culture demands an analysis of the words themselves, because there is interdependence between the kinship terminology and social organization.³

This chapter is composed to demonstrate the ancient Egyptian kinship terminology as it is used in its cultural context, and to illustrate an Africalogical conception of the Kemetic family.

The Kemetic word for family is  *Abt* (abet) in a collective sense. The determinative  seated man and woman with plural strokes is for people, that is, the relatives of the family called  *xrw* (kheru). The immediate family consists of:

his wife
and their children



Hmt
ms “child”

The three foxes’ skins tied together  (phoneme *ms*) illustrates the idea that it is the mother ( *mst* “mother”) who gives birth ( *msi* “to give birth”) to  a child (*ms*), while the glyph  animal’s belly showing teats and tail (phoneme *x*) indicates the fact that a child comes from his mother’s womb ( *xt* “womb”) or from his father’s body ( *xt* “body”). The glyph  is perhaps the picture of the human placenta (phoneme *x*). Hence the word “child” is linked to the mother by the placenta.

Kemetic words for “child” are very concrete and symbolic:  child born to his/her mother (*ms*), child from his/her mother’s womb or father’s body (*xrd*), and child linked to his/her mother by the placenta (*h*). *sA*   is the Kemetic word for son, the glyph a pintail duck (Gardiner’s sign list G39) along with a determinative of a seated man (Gardiner A1). A daughter is called  *sAt* the pintail duck is followed by a loaf of bread (phoneme *t*) to indicate the word is feminine, followed by a seated woman (Gardiner’s Sign list B1).

A man is  *s* is of course a male.  *DAy* (*tjay*). If married, he becomes for his wife a husband  *hii*. The glyph phallus with liquid issuing from it (Gardiner’s sign list D53) is a determinative for male expressing what issues from the male organ or what is performed by it. The word for father is  *it* (variations , , , ) in plural “forefathers”. It is interesting to note that the ancient *Kemites* do not use the male organ in the word father. Obviously the ancient *Kemites* recognized that the ability to use one’s male organ for the purpose of biological reproduction did not equate with fatherhood in the social sense.

The word for brother is  *sn*, the glyphs are a double-barred arrow  (Gardiner’s sign list T22) along with a ripple of water— (Gardiner’s sign list N35) above a seated man (Gardiner’s sign list A1). The word  *snt* “sister” is also written with the double-barred arrow along with a ripple of water above a loaf of bread  (phoneme *t*) to indicate a feminine word, completed with a seated woman (Gardiner’s sign list B1).  *sn* and  *snt* were also used to indicate spousal relationships between *Kemetic* couples, as well as being terms of great affection and intimacy.  *sn* and  *snt* also appear frequently in ancient *Kemetic* “love songs and poetry”.⁴

A woman  *st* who is married becomes also a wife  *Hmt*. The sign  well full of water (Gardiner’s sign list N41) is used as a

substitute for the female organ, and the sound value is *hm*. The word mother is  *mwt*. The wife is also known by a descriptive name referring to the dwelling as  *nbt pr* “lady of the house”, “housewife”. The word  *pr* means “house”, but also “household”, “home”, and by extension “family”. The immediate family places emphasis on the wife as the permanent basis of the familial structure.

In fact in  *Medew Netcher* the concept of marriage (to marry) is rendered by the verb  *grg* “found”, “establish” (a house), (household). The sign  pick excavating a pool (Gardiner’s sign list U17) illustrates the idea of founding a family. To establish a house is to take a woman  (*st*) as wife  (*Hmt*) in order to make her as lady of the house  (*nbt pr*), is the solid basis and foundation of the family in *Kemet*. Nowhere in *Medew Netcher* do you find the title  *nb pr*, that is, lord or master/ruler of the house. *Kemetic* social organization and family were established upon strong family ties. Married women were not “servants” or “semi-slaves” but really ladies of their households.

	<i>Abt</i>	“Family in collective sense.”
	<i>xrw</i>	“Relatives of a family.”
	<i>hii</i>	“Husband”
	<i>Hmt</i>	“Wife”
	<i>ms</i>	“Child”
	<i>mswt</i>	“Children, offspring (collective)”
	<i>Xrd</i>	“Child”
	<i>Xrdt</i>	“Children (collective)”
	<i>sA</i>	“Son”
	<i>sAt</i>	“Daughter”
	<i>sn</i>	“Brother”
	<i>snt</i>	“sister”
	<i>it</i>	“Father”
	<i>mwt</i>	“Mother”
	<i>grg pr</i>	“to found a house”
	<i>rdi m Hmt</i>	“to take a wife”
	<i>nbt pr</i>	“lady/mistress of the house”
	<i>iri</i>	“engender”

Diagram 3. Kemetic Family Words

The following figures illustrate a contextual display of how the ancient *Kemites* used their kinship terms. [Diagram 4](#) is the *Stela of Menthu-hotep*, son of *Ipi-Ankh*. In this limestone stela *Menthu-hotep* is carved standing behind his mother. His mother, *Ipi-Ankh* is drawn on a

smaller scale, and is dressed in a long tight fitting robe with shoulder straps. *Menthu-hotep* is carved on a larger scale than his mother and wears the traditional *Kemetic* short kilt. He stands with his left foot forward and his left arm is slightly raised. The name of his father is not recorded on this stela. This stela illustrates the importance attached to the mother/female in ancient *Kemetic* social organization.

Diagram 6 is the *Stela of Menthu-hotep, Son of It*. In this stela *Menthuhotep* stands before an offering table of oxen, fowl, bread, and vegetables. He is wearing the traditional *Kemetic* short kilt and collar. His left foot is forward, and in his left hand he holds a long staff perpendicular to the ground. In his right hand is a short staff that is held horizontal. Although he stands alone in this stela, the inscription states that he was born to *It*, his mother. His name *Menthu-hotep* is identical to the owner of a previous stela, yet both distinguish their identity by listing the name of their mothers. Social memory and identification are always emphasized on the female side in ancient *Kemet*.

Diagram 8 is the *Stela of Sen-Wrose*. The *Stela of Sen-Wrose* is rectangular in shape with incised texts and sunken reliefs. This stela provides an excellent glimpse of the composition of the *Kemetic* family in the Pharaonic period. The stela consists of *Sen-Wroset*, seated on a high-backed chair, in front of an offering table. In his left hand he holds a lotus up to his nose. He sits facing four female relatives, while two other female relatives are seated under his chair. *Sen-Wroset's* male relatives sit behind his *Kemetic* and foreign male servants, apparently shunned from his eyesight for eternity. The bottom row is composed of his female servants, of Asiatic origin, most likely from Canaan.⁵ The sister that is seated under *Sen-Wrose's* chair has a daughter, which in Western kinship terminologies would be labeled as his niece. *Sen-Wrose* would be called her Uncle, but in ancient *Kemet* no such terms exist.

Diagram 9 is the *Statuette-Group of Sebekhotep and his Womenfolk*. This stela presents one of the best examples of the problems found when examining ancient *Kemetic* family and social organization from a Eurocentric perspective. The Egyptian language has no words such as, “maternal aunt”, “maternal grandmother”, because the family and social organization do not know this kind of relationship. No single African language in Black Africa has terms of kinship such as “aunt”, “maternal aunt”, “paternal aunt”, “cousin”, “niece”, “nephew”, etc. Thus, the revered *Sobekhotep* has one wife and three mothers, that is:

his wife,  *Hmt.f*
his mother, An-mert-es,  *mwt.f*

his mother Keku, that is his mother's sister,  *snt mwt.f*
 his mother Sat-Hathor, that is, his mother's mother,  *mwt n mwt.f*.

Clearly, *An-mert-es* and *Keku* are sisters and have the same mother, the lady *Sat-Hathor*. In Black African societies, the sister of your mother is your mother, also. The lady *Sat-Hathor* is the mother of *Keku* and *An-mert-es*. *An-mert-es* is *Sobekhotep's* mother. Thus *An-mert-es's* mother is *Sobekhotep's* mother, also, because there is no such term such as, “maternal grandmother” in ancient *Kemetic* kinship and social organization. The mother of my mother is my mother. The sister of my mother is my mother. This is why the text says that “*Sobekhotep*, engendered by *Sat-Hathor*”. *Sobekhotep's* genealogy is strongly matrilineal.

Diagram 8 is of *Khui and his Family*. The name *Senet* (which means sister) is bore by *Khui's* wife and mother. *Khui* and *Montu-Weser* have the same mother, namely *Senet*. *Senet*, the wife, holds *Khui*, her husband, *Senet* the mother, holds her own son *Montu-Weser*. The name of the father is not recorded on this stela. The ancient Egyptians always emphasized their relationships with females in their family structure.

Diagram 9 is a *Detail of Stela J.E. 59636*. The lady of the house (*nbt pr*) *Teti* is the mother of two daughters, *Nefertary* and *Ahmosis* (born to the moon). *Teti* is also the grandmother of *Ta-net-Nebu*, the daughter of one of her daughters. In ancient *Kemetic* kinship terminology we have  *s3t s3t.s* “the daughter of her daughter” while English has granddaughter. The Ancient *Kemetic* kinship term is more descriptive. It means that the daughter of her daughter is her daughter, also.

Diagram 15 is the *Stela of Iteti and his Wives*. This is a clear case of the polygamous family in ancient *Kemet*. *Iteti* has three wives, *Ir-Nebet*, *Tjaut*, and *Djebet*. From these marriages he produced two daughters, *Bebi* and *Bebit*. All three wives are described as beloved or loved by *Iteti*. There is no mention or distinction made about which woman is first wife or second wife or third wife. Also no filiation is listed to identify the biological mother of the daughters *Bebi* and *Bebit*. The three wives died before their husband *Iteti*.

Diagram 17 is the *Stela of Pa-iry*. The stela of *Pa-iry* clearly shows the kin relationships of two families. One, *May* and his wife *Her*, and their children *Pa-iry* and *Takamen*. Second, *Pa-iry's* wife *Tabaset* and his children *Amenenhab* and *Hathor* are also depicted. These two families are linked by their relationship to *Pa-iry*. In fact, it is two generations of one extended family that appear on the stela of *Pa-iry*.

Pa-iry's Family of

Orientation:

His Father

His Mother

His Sister



May

Her

Takamen

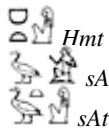
Pa-iry's Family of

Procreation:

His Wife

His Son

His Daughter



Tabaset

Amenemhab

Hathor

Diagram 19 is the *Stela of Sedjem-wy-Amun*. This stela shows a mother and daughter standing in adoration of the Goddess *Hathor*. The stela illustrates that the use of kinship terms are not affected by the gender of the speaker in ancient *Kemet*. Here we have *sAt.s*, “her daughter”.

Diagram 21 is a *Wall painting of the Sons of Ramses III*. This wall painting of the Kings children in a festival scene, illustrates the sons of *Ramses III*. The sons are depicted in this festival scene paying tribute to their father. The King’s children, his sons are called “King’s son of his body”. The filiations clearly indicate that these are the King’s biological children.

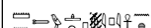
Stela of Mentuhotep-son of Ipi-Ankh. Limestone. 26x13.5cm. Early XII Dynasty. Provenance: Not Recorded. (from *Egyptian Reliefs and Stela in the Pusbkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. 1982, No. 28).

Top Register



The one honored by *Ptah-Sokar*, Lord of the sanctuary of *Ptah*.

Bottom Register



Menthu-hotep born of Ipi-Ankh.

Diagram 4. Stela of Menthu-Hotep, Son of Ipi-Ankh

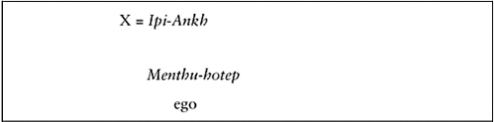
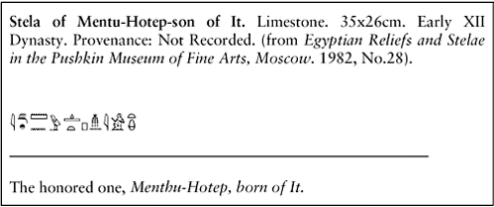


Diagram 5. Kinship Diagram of Menthu-Hotep, son of Ipi-Ankh



Stela of Sen-Wosre. Limestone. 42.5x27cm. End of Dynasty XII or the Beginning of the XIII. Provenance: Not Recorded, possibly Abydos. (from *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, 1982, No.34).

7. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 8

1)

Semvosre, born of Mut

D. B. E. I. R.

2)

His Mother *Mut*, His sister *Henout*

121

3)

His sister, *lini*

1374

4)

His sister, *Kebi*

1000

5)

His sister, her daughter, *Renessoneb*

[illegible]

6)

His brother, *ly.*

71

His brother, *Rahotep*

1-4555

8)

His brother, Imemu

1248

9)

His brother, *Ankhue*

Diagram 8. Stela of Sen-Wosre

Statuette-Group of Sobek-Hotep and his womenfolk. Grey Granite. W:32cm. XII Dynasty. Provenance: Madinet el-Fayum. (from *Annales Du Service Des Antiquities De L'Egypte*, Tome XXXV. 1935, p.203-205).

Man

15. VI - 2. 9. 2022

The revered one, he who is attached to the *semat*, *Sobekheotep*, engendered by *Sat-Hathor*.

Wife

FD-302 (Rev. 11-27-70)

His wife beloved of him, (i.e. his beloved wife), the lady of the house, *Sat-Hathor-mer*, engendered by *Rehut-ankh*.

Mother's Sister

回生-6-20-21

The sister of his mother, *Keku*, engendered by *Sat-Hathor*, true of voice (justified).

Mother

[illegible]

His mother *An-mert-es*, engendered by *Sat-Hathor*, true of voice.

Mother's Mother

2-2-2020

The mother of his mother, *Sat-Hathor*, engendered by *Keku*.

Diagram 9. Statuette group of Sobek-Hotep

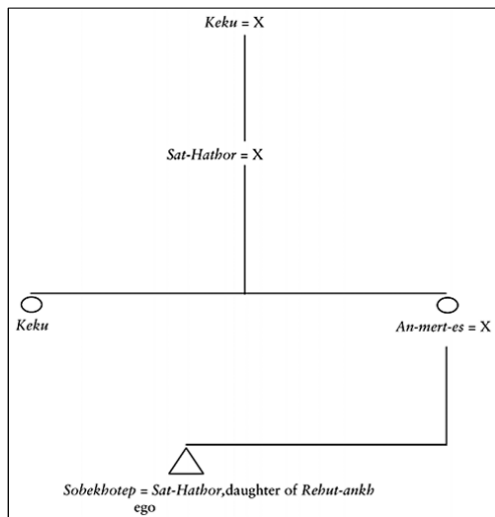
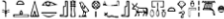


Diagram 10. Kinship diagram of the statuette group of Sobek-Hotep

Khui and his Family. Limestone. Middle Kingdom. Provenance: Not Recorded. (from *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung*. Haas, Martimus Nijhoff, 1910, Plate XXIX).

Top Register



A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris, lord of *Busiris*, that he may give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, oxen, fowl, to the revered one.

Middle Register



The overseer of the district, *Khui*, made by *Senet*, (he who is) justified, lord of honor.

Bottom Register



His beloved Wife and sister, his brother *Montu-Wsir*, his mother and sister.

Diagram 11. Stela of Khui and his family

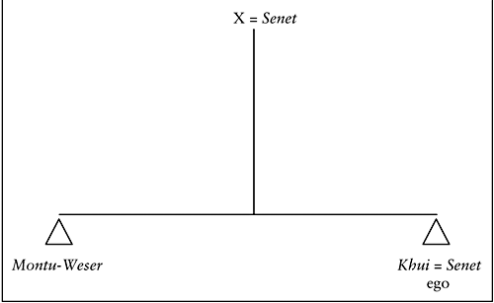


Diagram 12. Kinship diagram of Khui and his family

| | |
|--|--|
| Detail of Stela J.E. 59636 in Cairo Museum. Limestone. XVIII Dynasty.
Provenance: Thebes. (from <i>Melanges Maaritte</i> , Cairo. IFAO. 1961, p.211–227, Detail Third Register) | |
| Left Side | |
| | |
| The lady of the house, <i>Teti</i> , her daughter, <i>Nefertary</i> . | |
| Middle Left | |
| | |
| Her daughter, <i>Ahmosis</i> . | |
| Right Side | |
| | |
| The scribe <i>Ahmosis</i> , born to <i>Teti</i> . | |
| Middle Right | |
| | |
| The daughter of her daughter, <i>Ta-net-Nebu</i>
The name of the dog under <i>Ahmosis</i> 's chair reads <i>Kn- Inn</i> "Qen-Amon". | |

Diagram 13. Detail of the Stelae J.E. 59636

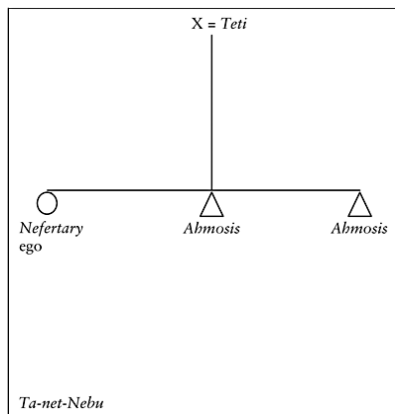


Diagram 14. Kinship diagram detail of the Stela J.E. 59636

Stela of Iseti and his Wives. Limestone. 50x30cm. XI Dynasty. Provenance: Dendara. (from *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. Volume 79 1983, Plate XXIV).

𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣 𓆤 𓆥 𓆦 𓆧 𓆨 𓆩 𓆪 𓆫 𓆬 𓆭 𓆮 𓆯 𓆰 𓆱 𓆲 𓆳 𓆴 𓆵 𓆶 𓆷 𓆸 𓆹 𓆺 𓆻 𓆼 𓆽 𓆾 𓆿 𓇀 𓇁 𓇂 𓇃 𓇄 𓇅 𓇆 𓇇 𓇈 𓇉 𓇊 𓇋 𓇌 𓇍 𓇎 𓇏 𓇐 𓇑 𓇒 𓇓 𓇔 𓇕 𓇖 𓇗 𓇘 𓇙 𓇚 𓇛 𓇜 𓇝 𓇞 𓇟 𓇠 𓇡 𓇢 𓇣 𓇤 𓇥 𓇦 𓇧 𓇨 𓇩 𓇪 𓇫 𓇬 𓇭 𓇮 𓇯 𓇰 𓇱 𓇲 𓇳 𓇴 𓇵 𓇶 𓇷 𓇸 𓇹 𓇺 𓇻 𓇼 𓇽 𓇾 𓇿 𓈀 𓈁 𓈂 𓈃 𓈄 𓈅 𓈆 𓈇 𓈈 𓈉 𓈊 𓈋 𓈌 𓈍 𓈎 𓈏 𓈐 𓈑 𓈒 𓈓 𓈔 𓈕 𓈖 𓈗 𓈘 𓈙 𓈚 𓈛 𓈜 𓈝 𓈞 𓈟 𓈠 𓈡 𓈢 𓈣 𓈤 𓈥 𓈦 𓈧 𓈨 𓈩 𓈪 𓈫 𓈬 𓈭 𓈮 𓈯 𓈰 𓈱 𓈲 𓈳 𓈴 𓈵 𓈶 𓈷 𓈸 𓈹 𓈺 𓈻 𓈼 𓈽 𓈾 𓈿 𓉀 𓉁 𓉂 𓉃 𓉄 𓉅 𓉆 𓉇 𓉈 𓉉 𓉊 𓉋 𓉌 𓉍 𓉎 𓉏 𓉐 𓉑 𓉒 𓉓 𓉔 𓉕 𓉖 𓉗 𓉘 𓉙 𓉚 𓉛 𓉜 𓉝 𓉞 𓉟 𓉠 𓉡 𓉢 𓉣 𓉤 𓉥 𓉦 𓉧 𓉨 𓉩 𓉪 𓉫 𓉬 𓉭 𓉮 𓉯 𓉰 𓉱 𓉲 𓉳 𓉴 𓉵 𓉶 𓉷 𓉸 𓉹 𓉺 𓉻 𓉼 𓉽 𓉾 𓉿 𓊀 𓊁 𓊂 𓊃 𓊄 𓊅 𓊆 𓊇 𓊈 𓊉 𓊊 𓊋 𓊌 𓊍 𓊎 𓊏 𓊐 𓊑 𓊒 𓊓 𓊔 𓊕 𓊖 𓊗 𓊘 𓊙 𓊚 𓊛 𓊜 𓊝 𓊞 𓊟 𓊠 𓊡 𓊢 𓊣 𓊤 𓊥 𓊦 𓊧 𓊨 𓊩 𓊪 𓊫 𓊬 𓊭 𓊮 𓊯 𓊰 𓊱 𓊲 𓊳 𓊴 𓊵 𓊶 𓊷 𓊸 𓊹 𓊺 𓊻 𓊼 𓊽 𓊾 𓊿 𓋀 𓋁 𓋂 𓋃 𓋄 𓋅 𓋆 𓋇 𓋈 𓋉 𓋊 𓋋 𓋌 𓋍 𓋎 𓋏 𓋐 𓋑 𓋒 𓋓 𓋔 𓋕 𓋖 𓋗 𓋘 𓋙 𓋚 𓋛 𓋜 𓋝 𓋞 𓋟 𓋠 𓋡 𓋢 𓋣 𓋤 𓋥 𓋦 𓋧 𓋨 𓋩 𓋪 𓋫 𓋬 𓋭 𓋮 𓋯 𓋰 𓋱 𓋲 𓋳 𓋴 𓋵 𓋶 𓋷 𓋸 𓋹 𓋺 𓋻 𓋼 𓋽 𓋾 𓋿 𓌀 𓌁 𓌂 𓌃 𓌄 𓌅 𓌆 𓌇 𓌈 𓌉 𓌊 𓌋 𓌌 𓌍 𓌎 𓌏 𓌐 𓌑 𓌒 𓌓 𓌔 𓌕 𓌖 𓌗 𓌘 𓌙 𓌚 𓌛 𓌜 𓌝 𓌞 𓌟 𓌠 𓌡 𓌢 𓌣 𓌤 𓌥 𓌦 𓌧 𓌨 𓌩 𓌪 𓌫 𓌬 𓌭 𓌮 𓌯 𓌰 𓌱 𓌲 𓌳 𓌴 𓌵 𓌶 𓌷 𓌸 𓌹 𓌺 𓌻 𓌼 𓌽 𓌾 𓌿 𓍀 𓍁 𓍂 𓍃 𓍄 𓍅 𓍆 𓍇 𓍈 𓍉 𓍊 𓍋 𓍌 𓍍 𓍎 𓍏 𓍐 𓍑 𓍒 𓍓 𓍔 𓍕 𓍖 𓍗 𓍘 𓍙 𓍚 𓍛 𓍜 𓍝 𓍞 𓍟 𓍠 𓍡 𓍢 𓍣 𓍤 𓍥 𓍦 𓍧 𓍨 𓍩 𓍪 𓍫 𓍬 𓍭 𓍮 𓍯 𓍰 𓍱 𓍲 𓍳 𓍴 𓍵 𓍶 𓍷 𓍸 𓍹 𓍺 𓍻 𓍼 𓍽 𓍾 𓍿 𓎀 𓎁 𓎂 𓎃 𓎄 𓎅 𓎆 𓎇 𓎈 𓎉 𓎊 𓎋 𓎌 𓎍 𓎎 𓎏 𓎐 𓎑 𓎒 𓎓 𓎔 𓎕 𓎖 𓎗 𓎘 𓎙 𓎚 𓎛 𓎜 𓎝 𓎞 𓎟 𓎠 𓎡 𓎢 𓎣 𓎤 𓎥 𓎦 𓎧 𓎨 𓎩 𓎪 𓎫 𓎬 𓎭 𓎮 𓎯 𓎰 𓎱 𓎲 𓎳 𓎴 𓎵 𓎶 𓎷 𓎸 𓎹 𓎺 𓎻 𓎼 𓎽 𓎾 𓎿 𓏀 𓏁 𓏂 𓏃 𓏄 𓏅 𓏆 𓏇 𓏈 𓏉 𓏊 𓏋 𓏌 𓏍 𓏎 𓏏 𓏐 𓏑 𓏒 𓏓 𓏔 𓏕 𓏖 𓏗 𓏘 𓏙 𓏚 𓏛 𓏜 𓏝 𓏞 𓏟 𓏠 𓏡 𓏢 𓏣 𓏤 𓏥 𓏦 𓏧 𓏨 𓏩 𓏪 𓏫 𓏬 𓏭 𓏮 𓏯 𓏰 𓏱 𓏲 𓏳 𓏴 𓏵 𓏶 𓏷 𓏸 𓏹 𓏺 𓏻 𓏼 𓏽 𓏾 𓏿 𓐀 𓐁 𓐂 𓐃 𓐄 𓐅 𓐆 𓐇 𓐈 𓐉 𓐊 𓐋 𓐌 𓐍 𓐎 𓐏 𓐐 𓐑 𓐒 𓐓 𓐔 𓐕 𓐖 𓐗 𓐘 𓐙 𓐚 𓐛 𓐜 𓐝 𓐞 𓐟 𓐠 𓐡 𓐢 𓐣 𓐤 𓐥 𓐦 𓐧 𓐨 𓐩 𓐪 𓐫 𓐬 𓐭 𓐮 𓐯 𓐰 𓐱 𓐲 𓐳 𓐴 𓐵 𓐶 𓐷 𓐸 𓐹 𓐺 𓐻 𓐼 𓐽 𓐾 𓐿 𓑀 𓑁 𓑂 𓑃 𓑄 𓑅 𓑆 𓑇 𓑈 𓑉 𓑊 𓑋 𓑌 𓑍 𓑎 𓑏 𓑐 𓑑 𓑒 𓑓 𓑔 𓑕 𓑖 𓑗 𓑘 𓑙 𓑚 𓑛 𓑜 𓑝 𓑞 𓑟 𓑠 𓑡 𓑢 𓑣 𓑤 𓑥 𓑦 𓑧 𓑨 𓑩 𓑪 𓑫 𓑬 𓑭 𓑮 𓑯 𓑰 𓑱 𓑲 𓑳 𓑴 𓑵 𓑶 𓑷 𓑸 𓑹 𓑺 𓑻 𓑼 𓑽 𓑾 𓑿 𓒀 𓒁 𓒂 𓒃 𓒄 𓒅 𓒆 𓒇 𓒈 𓒉 𓒊 𓒋 𓒌 𓒍 𓒎 𓒏 𓒐 𓒑 𓒒 𓒓 𓒔 𓒕 𓒖 𓒗 𓒘 𓒙 𓒚 𓒛 𓒜 𓒝 𓒞 𓒟 𓒠 𓒡 𓒢 𓒣 𓒤 𓒥 𓒦 𓒧 𓒨 𓒩 𓒪 𓒫 𓒬 𓒭 𓒮 𓒯 𓒰 𓒱 𓒲 𓒳 𓒴

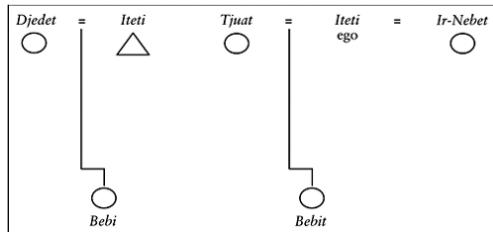


Diagram 16. Kinship diagram of the Stela of Iteti and his wives.

Stela of Pa-iry. Limestone. 37.5x32cm. XIX Dynasty. Provenance: Not Recorded, possibly Thebes. (from *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. 1982, No.86).

Top Register

Osiris, Lord of Heaven, Glory to Osiris for the Ka of the scribe Pa-iry.

Middle Register

His Wife, Tabaset.

His daughter, Hathor.

His son, Amenhabab.

His sister, musician of Anon, Takamen.

His father, the sculptor May.

His mother, musician of Amun, Her.

Bottom Register

His father, the sculptor May.

His mother, musician of Amun, Her.

His mother, musician of Amun, Her.

His mother, musician of Amun, Her.

Diagram 17. Stela of Pa-iry

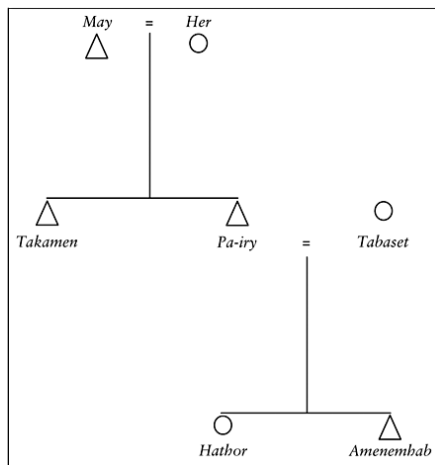


Diagram 18. Kinship diagram of the Stela of Pa-iry.

Stela of Sedjem-wy-Amun. Limestone. 15x11cm. XX or XXI Dynasty.
Provenance: Not Recorded, possibly Thebes. (from *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. 1982, No.101).


Hathor, Goddess of the Desert.


Musician of Amun, Sedjem-wy-Amun, justified.


Her daughter, Wseru-HR-iset-es, justified.

Diagram 19. Stela of Sedjem-wy-Amun

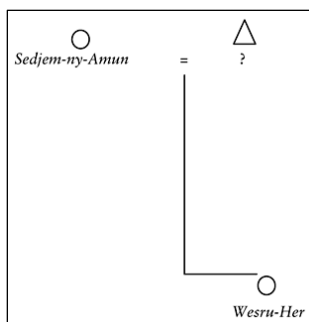
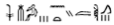


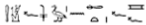
Diagram 20. Kinship diagram of the Stela of Sedjem-Wy-Amun

King's Children: Festival Scenes of King Ramses III. XX Dynasty.
 Location: Medinet Habu Temple. (from *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection: Part I New Kingdom*. Stewart, H. 1976, p.139).

From Right to left



King's children who (are) in the suite



of his majesty, King's son of his body (who) he loves. (i.e. "King's Beloved son of his Body").

Diagram 21. Wall painting of the Sons of Ramses III

The previous stelae illustrate the six elementary kinship terms used by the ancient *Kemites*:

| | | |
|---|---|----------------|
|  | = | Father |
|  | = | Mother |
|  | = | Brother/Sister |
|  | = | Son/Daughter |
|  | = | Husband |
|  | = | Wife |

However, these six terms do not designate all the possible kinship relations or categories; the ancient *Kemites* achieved this by connecting two elementary kinship terms by the genitive *n(nt)*.⁶ For Example, *sn.f n mwt.f* meant literally “his brother of his mother”. *Kemites* used suffix- pronouns such as, *.f* “his” or *.s* “her” to indicate concrete kinship relations.⁷ Although the ancient *Kemites* used their kinship terms in a “descriptive manner”, the kinship system is classificatory.⁸

Classificatory kinship systems are found in the clan or group. Thus in a classificatory system ego or the speaker reflects not “I” singular, but the group, plural.⁹ In this type of system all siblings of the same generation stand in relation to each other. A clear explanation of this system is given by the anthropologist Radcliffe Brown:

A man is always classed with his brother and a woman with her sister. If I apply a given term of relationship to a man, I apply the same term to his brother. Thus I call my father’s brother by the same term I apply to my father, and similarly, I call my mother’s sister, mother. The consequential relationships are followed out. The children of any man I call “father” or any woman I call “mother” are my “brother” and

“sisters”. The children of any man I call “brother”, if I am a male, call me “father”, and I call them “son” or “daughter”.¹⁰

Needless to say, this type of kinship system has confused travelers, missionaries, and anthropologists in Africa since the time of al-Bakri,¹¹ primarily, because they have operated under the assumption that the initial family unit consisted of the monogamous nuclear family.¹² The full range of ancient *Kemet* kinship terms are as follows:



“Father”, is equally applied to father’s father, mother’s father, wife’s father, also used for ancestors and in a social context with apprenticeships.



“Mother”, is equally applied to mother’s mother, father’s mother, and wife’s mother.



“sister”, is equally applied to father’s sister, mother’s sister, mother’s sister’s daughter, mother’s brother’s daughter, father’s brother’s daughter, father’s sister’s daughter, sister’s daughter, brother’s daughter, brother’s wife.



“brother”, is equally applied to mother’s brother, father’s brother, father’s brother’s son, mother’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, father’s sister’s son, brother’s son, sister’s son, sister’s husband.



“Daughter”, is equally applied to daughter, daughter’s daughter, sister’s daughter.



“Son” is equally applied to sister’s son, daughter’s son, sister’s sister’s son, daughter’s husband.



“Wife” is a woman married to a man.



“Husband” is a man married to a woman.

“grandmother/grandfather” no term exists in *Kemet* language.

“aunt/uncle” no term exists in *Kemet* language.

“niece/nephew” no term exists in *Kemet* language.

“cousin” no term exists in *Kemet* language.

“granddaughter/grandson” no term exists in *Kemet* language.

“father/mother-in-law” no term exists in *Kemet* language.

“daughter/son-in-law” no term exist in ancient *Kemet* language.¹³

The ancient *Kemetes* did not use or have terms such as uncle/aunt, niece/nephew, or cousin as a part of their kinship terminology. And since their marriages were not based in “Law”, there exists no terminology to classify kin as “in-laws”. Rather, their society was built on “blood relations”. *Kemet* social organizations in this regard are distinctly like that of Black Africa, because, similarly these terms do not exist in any Black African language.¹⁴ Ancient Egyptian kinship terms illustrate the closeness of ancient *Kemet* society.

5

Egypt and Other African Cultures

Language is one of the most distinctive features of any civilization or culture. So much so, that civilizations have been placed in categories or linked based on the language family to which it belongs.¹

The process to categorize languages into distinct families is very difficult, because all languages change through time and space. In the field of linguistics the branches that deal specifically with this problem are called historical (evolutionary, diachronic) and comparative linguistics.

Historical linguistics is the study of words, speech and languages, and language change from the point of origin (evolution) through the course of time;² while comparative linguistics is the study of similarities and differences between two or more languages at a given point in time, or the same languages at different points in time.³ The primary purpose of historical and comparative linguistics is often to reconstruct languages to determine if they share a common ancestor.

Through this type of reconstruction, languages are grouped into linguistic families, such as Afroasiatic, Indo-European, Black African languages, etc. The relationship that exists among these languages is termed genealogical or genetic.⁴ Therefore, languages that are classified into the same linguistic family can be said to be dialects of an older language that has been reconstructed from a modern or historical ancestor.

Consequently, languages that are categorized into the same linguistic family should not only be closely related but also resemble each other. These resemblances should not be of an universal nature nor should they occur by mere chance, but be a result of a historic connection.⁵ Accordingly, languages classified into one family should differ from languages that are classified into other linguistic families. By these criteria it stands, to reason that if a language does not resemble, or if it differs dramatically from other languages in its family tree, then that language is not genetically part of that tree.

The language of ancient *Kemet*, *Medew Netcher*, is placed into the mythical language family of Afroasiatic⁶ in accordance with Joseph Greenberg's, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification*.⁷ Greenberg's method was to take a number of basic vocabulary items-words denoting important concepts in any culture, such as parts of the body,

numbers up to ten, words for water, sun, earth, and names in a group of languages which may be possibly genetically related. He then compares them in groups of languages which may be related searching for words similar in form and meaning. If similarities are found or the differences demonstrate a consistent pattern of change Greenberg concluded that those languages are genetically related.⁸ The rationale behind using basic terms is that all languages are rich and poor, that is they borrow and give words to other languages that they come in contact with. For example, the word “blanket” did not exist in African languages prior to European contact. As a result the Africans not only borrowed the item-blanket, they also borrowed the word “blanket”. However, it is also believed that all languages must have and in most cases retain their own terms for basic items, such as land, sun, water, sky, body parts, and numbers one to ten. Consequently, these items make an excellent choice to search for cognates and to establish a basis for establishing the existence of a genetic relationship between languages.⁹

The Afroasiatic linguistic family thus consists of following coordinate branches:

(A) SEMITIC

Akkadian;

Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Amoraic, Moabite, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Palestinian;

Arabic;

South Arabian, Sabiac, Minaean;

Ge'ez, Tigre, Tigray, Ahmaric, Argobba, Gafat, Harai, Gurage, Selti, Gogot;

Mehri, Jibbali, Shheri, Harsusi, Soqotri.

(B) BERBER

Shillh, Semal, Ntifa, Baamrani, Aksimen, Tamazight Izdeg, Izayan, Segrushen;

Rif, Iznasen, Snus, Menaser, Shenua, Senhaja, Kabyle, Shauya, Figig, Mzab, Wargla, Sened, Jerba;

Awjila, Nefusa, Ghadames, Siwa, Sokna;

Ghat, Ayr, Ahaggar, Tawlemet, Taneslemt;

Zenaga;

Guanche; Libyan.

(C) EGYPTIAN

Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic;

(D) CHADIC

(D1) West Chadic

Hausa, Gwandara; Sura, Angas, Ankwe, Mupun, Chip, Montol, Gerka;

Bolewa, karekare, Dera, Tangale, Pero, Ngamo, Maha, Bele, Kirfi, Gera, Galambu, Geruma; Warji, Kariya, Diri, Miya, Paa, Cagu, Siri, Mburku, Jimbin, Jimi; Boghom, Kir, Mangas, Geji, Tala, Burma, Guruntum, Buu, Zul, Buli, Polchi, Zem, Tule, Dokshi, Dwot, Zakashi, Zaar, Sayanchi; Fyer, Bokkos, Sha, Kulere, Dafo-Butura; Ngizim, Bade.

(D2) Central Chadic

Tera, Jara, Gaanda, Gabin, Boga, Hwona;

Bura, Chibak, Kilba, Ngwahi, Margi, Wamdiu, Heba, Hildi; Higi Futu, Higi Nfaka, Higi Ghye, Fali Kiri, Fali Gili, Kapiski;

Dghwede, Mandara, Padokwo, Glavda, Guduf, Zeghwana, Gvoko, Gava, Nakaci, Lamang;

Matakam, Mofu, mafa, Gisiga, Balda, Muktle;

Sukur;

Daba, Musgoy;

Musgum, Mbara, Munjuk;

Bata, Bachama, Gude, Gudu, Nzangi, Fali Jilvu, Fali Mubi, Fali Muchela, Fali Bwagira, Mwulyen;

Logone, Buduma, Gulfey, Kuseri, Afade;

Gidar;

Lame, Lame Pewe, Zime, Zime Bata;

Masa, Mesme, Banana.

(D3) East Chadic

Somray, Sibine, Tumak, Ndam;

Nanchere, Tobanga, Lele, Gabri, Kabalay, Dorma;

Kera, Kwan, Mobu, Ngam;

Dangla, Migama, Jankor, Jegu, Bidiya;

Mubi, Birgit,

Mokilko;

Sokoro, Barayan.

(E) BEJA

(F) AGAW

Bilin;

Xamir, Xamata;

Kwara, Dembea, Kemant;

Aungi, Damot

(G) EAST CUSHITIC

(G1) Saho-Afar

Saho, Afar.

(G2) Lowland East Cushitic

Soamli, Oromo, Boni, Rendille, Bayso;

Arbore, Dume, Geleba, Konso, Gato, Bussa, Gidole.

(G3) Werizoid

Warazi, Gawwada, Dullay, Gobeze, Camay, Harso, Dobeze,

Gollango, Gorrose, Gaba.

(G4) Highland East Cushitic

*Sidamo, Darasa, Hadiya, Alaba, Kabenna, Bambala,
Kambata, Tambaro.*

(H) DAHALO

(I) MOGOGODO

(J) OMOTIC

Ometo, Gidicho, Basketo;

Yamma, Kaficho, Mocha, Bworo, Anfila;

Hozo, Sezo, Gim, Nao, Sheko, Maji;

Dime, Ari, Banna, Hamer, Karo, Basada.

(K) RIFT OR SOUTH CUSHITIC

Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge;

*Asa, Kwadza.*¹⁰

These languages were originally a part of the “Hamito-Semitic” family, but since Greenberg’s work the designation of Afroasiatic has held sway, although some scholars still use the term Hamito-Semitic, or Afrasian.¹¹

Quietly, under the surface of these linguistic classifications lies a distinct racial theory. Greenberg explains the racial theory behind the Afroasiatic linguistic family in the following manner:

Afroasiatic languages are spoken by Caucasian and Negro peoples. The Cushites and Ethiopians Semites are often classified as Caucasoid.

The Egyptians, Berbers, and the remaining Semitic people are indisputably Caucasian, while the Chad speakers are Negroid. On this evidence it seems probable that Afroasiatics languages were originally spoken by Caucasians and in some instances take over by Negroes.”¹²

The placement of ancient *Kemetic* language in the Afroasiatic family has been a surreptitious way of maintaining that the *Kemites* were at best Caucasians, and at worst Semitic.¹³ Further, the Afroasiatic

linguistic category separates ancient *Kemetic* language from its Black African context.

The type of pseudo-science that upholds ancient *Kemetic* language as a part of the Afroasiatic family was exactly what Cheikh Anta Diop and Theophile Obenga set out to destroy at the Cairo Colloquium in 1974.¹⁴ The record of the Cairo Colloquium has been widely discussed and need not be repeated here, except to point out what were the results of the discussion in regard to the classification of ancient *Kemetic* language. The Symposium's international body of scholars "rejected the idea that Pharaonic Egyptian language was a Semitic language".¹⁵ Further, adding that "the Egyptian language could not be isolated from its African context and its origin could not be fully explained in the terms of Semitic; it was thus quite normal to expect to find related languages in Africa."¹⁶ Cheikh Anta Diop demonstrated clearly that there exists a genetic link between *Kemetic* and Wolof.¹⁷ In fact, Diop's demonstration was so impressive that his methodology was noted by the French Egyptologist Professor Sauneron as an excellent "starting point to reconstitute a paleo-African language with modern African languages".¹⁸ On a purely scientific basis the idea that ancient *Kemetic* language is a part of the Afroasiatic family was defeated in Cairo.

The discipline of linguistics has been used by anthropologists who have attempted to reconstruct social relations, customs, mythology, and institutions through language.¹⁹ According to Ferdinand de Saussure:

Kinship terms have played a major role in this attempt because they are abundant and have been transmitted very clearly.²⁰

Also, according to Gifford: Kinship systems are first of all linguistic phenomena ... Kinship terms as words must of course conform to morphological principles of a particular language.²¹ In addition, when languages throughout the world are examined, kinship terms have been the most resistant to borrowing from one language to another.²² Phonology and grammar are essential aspects of comparative linguistics, but initial inquiries can be made through vocabulary, especially kinship terms. By this method the resemblances between languages can be identified. Therefore, by comparing ancient *Kemetic* kinship terms with those of Semitic, Indo-European, and Black Africa languages, this chapter seeks to demonstrate which languages display a genetic link.

English, German, and Dutch are contemporary languages. They are contemporary in the sense that these languages have the same life, age, and distance of separation from a common ancestor. Of course

English, German, and Dutch have changed through time, yet there still remain in these languages many common characteristics. These shared characteristics help us to reconstruct a common ancestor for English, German, and Dutch. Therefore, we can state as a principle that contemporary languages having a common ancestor, must also share many common characteristics. For example, we when examine the following kinship terms their commonality is revealed.

| English | German | Dutch ²³ |
|----------|-----------|---------------------|
| Brother | Bruder | Broer |
| Sister | Schwester | Zuster |
| Son | Sohn | Zoon |
| Daughter | Tochter | Dochter |
| Father | Vater | Vader |
| Mother | Mutter | Moeder |

Also by applying the same principle to the numbers in English, German, and Dutch, one can see that these languages share many common characteristics, which are illustrated as follows:

| | English | German | Dutch |
|----|---------|--------|-------|
| 1 | one | eins | een |
| 2 | two | zwei | twee |
| 3 | three | drei | drie |
| 4 | four | vier | vier |
| 5 | five | funf | viijf |
| 6 | six | sechs | zes |
| 7 | seven | sieben | zeven |
| 8 | eight | acht | acht |
| 9 | nine | neun | negen |
| 10 | ten | zehn | tien |

Akkadian (Babylonian-Assyrian) is the oldest attested Semitic language. Akkadian was spoken in Mesopotamia from the middle of the third millennium B.C.E. and its use reaches the first century A.D. Akkadian language is named after the city of Akkad, the capital of the kingdom of Sargon of Akkad (2340–2284 B.C.E.).²⁴

Medew Netcher is the oldest attested “Hamitic” language. Old Medew Netcher was spoken in the Nile Valley, about 2500 B.C.E., and Middle Kemetic from 2000 to 1500 B.C.E.²⁵ According to Trigger: “Greenberg has the impression that Old Egyptian and Akkadian are slightly more differentiated than Romanian and Portuguese, which would suggest 5500 to 6500 B.C. as the time when the branches of

Afroasiatic became separate from one another.”²⁶ Clearly, *Old Kemetic* and Akkadian were contemporary languages. Therefore, as contemporary languages from a common ancestor they must necessarily share many common characteristics.

Romanian and Portuguese languages have an attested ancestor, which is Latin.²⁷As a result, the similarities shared by these two languages are obvious and are demonstrated here to give the reader another representation of the common characteristics of two contemporary languages from a common ancestor:

| English | Portuguese | Romanian |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Brother</i> | <i>Irmao</i> | <i>Frate</i> |
| <i>Sister</i> | <i>Irma</i> | <i>Sora</i> |
| <i>Son</i> | <i>Fiho</i> | <i>Fiu</i> |
| <i>Daughter</i> | <i>Filha</i> | <i>Fica</i> |
| <i>Father</i> | <i>Pa</i> | <i>Tata</i> |
| <i>Mother</i> | <i>Mae</i> | <i>Mama</i> |

Applying this same principle to the numbers, we are able to see the characteristics these languages have in common:

| | English | Portuguese | Romanian |
|----|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | <i>one</i> | <i>um</i> | <i>un</i> |
| 2 | <i>two</i> | <i>dois</i> | <i>doi</i> |
| 3 | <i>three</i> | <i>tres</i> | <i>trei</i> |
| 4 | <i>four</i> | <i>quatro</i> | <i>patru</i> |
| 5 | <i>five</i> | <i>cinco</i> | <i>cinci</i> |
| 6 | <i>six</i> | <i>seis</i> | <i>sase</i> |
| 7 | <i>seven</i> | <i>sete</i> | <i>sapte</i> |
| 8 | <i>eight</i> | <i>oito</i> | <i>opt</i> |
| 9 | <i>nine</i> | <i>nove</i> | <i>noua</i> |
| 10 | <i>ten</i> | <i>dez</i> | <i>zece</i> |

However, when applying my principle of contemporary languages to Akkadian and *Kemetic* one fails to find evidence of similar characteristics shared by these languages, as illustrated by the basic kinship terms:

| | <i>Kemetic</i> | <i>Akkadian</i> ²⁸ |
|---------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| Father: | <i>it</i> | <i>abum</i> |
| Mother: | <i>mwt</i> | <i>ummu</i> |

| | | |
|-----------|------------|----------------|
| Son: | <i>sA</i> | <i>marum</i> |
| Daughter: | <i>sAt</i> | <i>martum</i> |
| Brother: | <i>sn</i> | <i>ahum</i> |
| Sister: | <i>snt</i> | <i>ahatum</i> |
| Husband: | <i>hi</i> | <i>mutum</i> |
| Wife: | <i>Hmt</i> | <i>assatum</i> |

The names of numbers in *Akkadian* and *Kemetic* also do not exhibit any common characteristics. The following basic items illustrate this point clearly:

| | <i>Kemetic</i> | <i>Coptic</i> | <i>Akkadian</i> |
|----------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1(one) | <i>wc, wa</i> | <i>wo, wa</i> | <i>isten, istiat</i> |
| 2(two) | <i>snw</i> | <i>snau, sno</i> | <i>sena, sitta</i> |
| 3(three) | <i>hmt</i> | <i>shommt</i> | <i>salas, salasat</i> |
| 4(four) | <i>fdw</i> | <i>ftouu</i> | <i>erbe, erbet</i> |
| 5(five) | <i>dñw</i> | <i>ton</i> | <i>hamis. hamsat</i> |
| 7(seven) | <i>sfbw</i> | <i>sashf</i> | <i>sebe, sebet</i> |
| 10(ten) | <i>mdw</i> | <i>met, mete</i> | <i>eser, eseret</i> |

The basic kinship terms and numbers in *Akkadian* and *Kemetic* languages do not exhibit any evidence of their common descent. In fact, by examining these two oldest attested languages of the so-called “Afroasiatic” family we find that it is almost impossible to state that there exists such a linguistic family. Therefore the idea of an Afroasiatic family in linguistics must be categorically rejected by Afrocentric scholars.

Conversely, when we compare ancient *Kemetic* kinship terms with those of Black Africa we see clear resemblances and common characteristics. For example:

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Husband: | <i>Kemetic</i> | <i>hi</i> |
| | <i>Coptic</i> | <i>hay, hai</i> |
| | <i>Black Africa</i> ²⁹ | |

| | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| | <i>Manding</i> | <i>kye, ke</i> |
| | <i>Bambara</i> | <i>kye, ke</i> |
| | <i>Malinke</i> | <i>key, koy, kay</i> |
| Wife: | <i>Kemetic</i> | <i>hmt</i> |
| | <i>Coptic</i> | <i>hime, pl. hyomi</i> |
| | <i>Black Africa</i> | |
| | <i>Kikongo (beembe)</i> | <i>yimi</i> |

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mother: | Fang (Gabon) | <i>yam</i> |
| | Kemetic | <i>mwt</i> |
| | Coptic | <i>maau, mau, meu, mo</i> |
| | Black Africa | |
| | Mbochi (Congo) | <i>maa, moo</i> |
| | Mossi (Burkina Faso) | <i>ma</i> |
| | Baoule (Ivory Coast) | <i>ma, ne</i> |
| | Bambara (Mali) | <i>ma, ba</i> |
| | Kabi-Benoue | <i>ma</i> |
| | Wandala | <i>mu</i> |
| | Nuer (Southern Sudan) | <i>mur, mor</i> |
| | Zelgwa (North Cameroon) | <i>mur</i> |
| | Sotho (Southern Africa) | <i>mme</i> |
| Father: | Kemetic | <i>it</i> |
| | Coptic | <i>iot, iate, iati</i> |
| | Black Africa | |
| | Kikongo | <i>ta</i> |
| | Mbochi | <i>taa</i> |
| | Efik (Nigeria) | <i>ete</i> |
| | Fali (Cameroon) | <i>to</i> |
| Son/Daughter | Kemetic | <i>sA, sAt</i> |
| | Coptic | <i>si-(o) "son"</i> |
| | Black Africa | |
| | Bambara | <i>sye</i> |
| | Manding | <i>si</i> |
| | Banda | <i>ze, zu</i> |
| | Bozo (W. Atlantic) | <i>si</i> |
| | Kikongo | <i>se</i> |
| | Wolof | <i>sat</i> |
| | | |
| Brother/Sister: | Kemetic | <i>sn, snt</i> |
| | Coptic | <i>son</i> |
| | Black Africa | |
| | Bedja | <i>san</i> |
| | Manding | <i>San</i> |
| | Kikongo | <i>saana</i> |

From the preceding examination of kinship terms from the two oldest attested languages in the Afroasiatic family, we see that there is no genetic link. However, there appears to be a clear genetic link between ancient Kemetic language and Black African languages. By broadening our scope to include other Semitic languages that evolved from Akkadian and Indo-European, the differences become much more observable.

Kemetic**Coptic****Black Africa**

Kikongo

Mbochi

Efik (Nigeria)

Fali

Akkadian

Ugaritic

Phoenician

Hebrew

Arabic

Indo-European

Sanskrit

Greek

Latin

Middle English

Kemetic**Coptic****Father***it**iot, iate, iati**ta**taa**ete**(Cameroon) to**abum**'ab**'b**'ab**'ab**pitar-**pater**pater**fader***Mother***mwt**maau, mau, meu, mo***Black Africa**

Mbochi (Congo)

Mossi (Burkina Faso)

Baoule (Ivory Coast)

Bambara (Mali)

Nuer (Southern Sudan)

Sotho (Southern Africa)

Akkadian

Hebrew '

Arabic

Berber

Syriac

Indo-European

Sanskrit

Latin

German

Middle English

*maa, moo**ma**ma, ne**ma, ba**mur, mor**mme**ummu**em**'mm**donne**'emma**mata, matr**mater**mutter**moder***Son/Daughter***sA**si-(O)**sye**si**ze, zu**si**se***Kemetic****Coptic****Black Africa**

Bambara

Manding

Banda

Bozo (W.Atlantic)

Kikongo

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Wolof | <i>sat</i> |
| Akkadian | <i>marum/martum</i> |
| Ugaritic | <i>bn/bnt</i> |
| Arabic | <i>ibn</i> |
| Hebrew | <i>ben</i> |
| Phoenician | <i>bl</i> |
| Indo-European | |
| Sanskrit | <i>sunu, su /duhitar-</i> |
| German | <i>sohn/tochter</i> |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Dutch | <i>zoon/dochter</i> |
| Middle English | <i>sone/doghter</i> |
| Kemetic | Brother/Sister |
| Coptic | <i>sn/snt</i> |
| Black Africa | <i>son</i> |
| Bedja | <i>san</i> |
| Manding | <i>san</i> |
| Kikongo | <i>saana</i> |
| Akkadian | <i>ahum “brother”, ahatum “sister”</i> |
| Ugaritic | <i>‘ah “brother”, ‘aht “sister”</i> |
| Hebrew | <i>‘ah “brother”, ‘ahoth “sister”</i> |
| Arabic | <i>‘ah “brother”</i> |
| Phoenician | <i>‘h “brother”</i> |
| Indo-European | |
| Sanskrit | <i>bhratr/svasa</i> |
| Latin | <i>frater/soror</i> |
| German | <i>bruder/schwester</i> |
| Russian | <i>brat/sestra</i> |
| French | <i>frere/soeur</i> |

When examining the kinship terms of ancient *Kemet*, Semitic, Indo-European, and Black Africa using the fields of both historical and comparative linguistics it is impossible to state based on science that these languages belong to the same family. But the linguistic evidence clearly allows us to state with certainty that there exists a genetic link between the language of ancient *Kemet* and those classified as Black African.

6

A Discussion of Cheikh Anta Diop's Two Cradle Theory

This chapter seeks to discuss Cheikh Anta Diop's Two Cradle Theory; by using historical and linguistic evidence that illustrate "proto cultures" that Diop posited existed in three distinct cradles of geographic environment. The cradles that Diop described were to have existed in Northern, Southern, and intermediated zone entitled the zone of confluence.¹ Many scholars have attempted to explain cultural differences through environment factors or isolation. But for African scholars, the idea of difference or uniqueness was secondary to the aspect of finding the African identity and culture before European and Arab invasion. Beginning in the twentieth century Edmont Wilmot Blyden attempted to outline the uniqueness of African culture by dealing indigenous African culture. Blyden set out to describe four aspects of African life, the family Property, social life and the tribes. He cautions his readers that he is speaking about a particular type of African, that is, one untouched by European, or Asiatic influence, namely as Blyden states the "pagan African".² The idea of an African untouched by outside influences is an essential component for Africans who wish to regain an accurate historical memory.

Currently Africa's social organization consists of both matrilineal and patrilineal families.³ These varying family structures in some cases can be attributed to an indigenous response to a changing environment; also there has been a great deal of foreign imposition on the African family and social organization through Christianity and Islam. In fact, ancient *Kemet* provides us with a record of how Africans constructed their society before foreign influences had taken hold in Africa. This type of scholarship can be used as a guide to rebuild African culture and civilization. Writing during the "Classical" period of Victorian anthropology, Blyden

attempted to explain the cultural difference practiced by Africans, Europe-ans, and Semitic peoples without the ethnocentric superiority and racism of his day.⁴ Although his attempt was valiant, Blyden was shouted down by an avalanche of material produced by European anthropologist who extolled the virtues of European society and culture, under the rubric of progress, enlightenment, consciousness,

spirituality, light and reason.⁵

When Cheikh Anta Diop produced his works in the nineteen fifties he stated that “I realized the work I undertook was that of a generation of scholars”.⁶ Cheikh Anta Diop’s Two Cradle Theory sets out to elaborate on the topic that Blyden had briefly broached a generation earlier. That is, there exists a single origin and evolutionary area of humanity, and that humanity developed the differences we cite as culture as a response to the environment and the needs of life.

The trust of Diop’s work was clearly to dispel any notion of African inferiority, especially in the context of culture. Diop states the ideas that were prevalent when he began his work:

At this point in time, sociology was promoting a theory that Black culture was inferior to Western Culture, inferior in fact to all cultures. Even the more advanced sociologists subscribed to this concept. For example, the matriarchal family, with the spirit of mother dominating, was considered inferior to other cultures.⁷

To dispose of this ideological dogma, Diop used a two-pronged attack, first the “Monogenetic Theory” of humanity, and second, the “Two Cradle Theory”. The monogenetic theory simply stated the following:

We are able to say scientifically today, with certainty that mankind was born in Africa within the region of Kenya and around the area that comprises Ethiopia and Tanzania, dispersing along a north-south axis all the way to South Africa.⁸

Presently, paleoanthropology has for the most part come to embrace the monogenetic theory of humanity. Through the study of bones, tools and DNA, the out of Africa theory or African Eve theory has taken center stage as opposed to the ideologically based multi-regional theory on the origin of humanity.⁹

Although the “Out of Africa” theory has gained acceptance, there has been profound silence on the clear corollary aspects of such a pronouncement. Namely, that:

Considering that mankind developed in Africa, and that this first mankind was black-skinned, Blacks has to be at the origin of the world’s first civilization.¹⁰

The confirmation of south east Africa as the origin of humanity allowed Diop to pose the question of the peopling of ancient Egypt from an entirely new perspective. This new perspective emerges from

two important facts:

1. Humankind born around the Great Lakes Region almost on the equator is necessarily pigmented and Black; the Gloger Law calls for warm blooded animals to be pigmented in a hot and humid climate.
2. All other races derive from the Black race by a more or less filiation and other continents were populated from Africa at the Homo erectus and Homo Sapiens stage, 150,000 years ago. The old theories that used to state Blacks came from somewhere else are now invalid.¹¹

This information leads to the logical conclusion that from the Upper Paleo-lithic period, these Black men and women migrated from inner/central Africa, populating the Nile Valley, through the Dynastic epoch. Current paleoarchaeological evidence has even bolstered Diop's theory by demonstrating that there existed in East-Central Africa an advanced culture some 70,000 years ago, whereas similar culture did not appear outside Africa until some 54,000 years later.¹² This new information puts aside the idea of Asian or Delta origin of Kemetic civilization.

There are several competing theories that are bandied about then one attempt to explain the evolution of civilization. They range from the "race hypothesis", "environmental determinism", "internal conflict", "external conflict", "hydraulic/managerial integrative", "social integration", to "uni-linear evolution". The primary focus of most of these theories is "state formation."¹³

However the unilinear evolution theory posited by Henry Morgan in *Ancient Society* uses culture as its driving force. Morgan, discussed earlier in [Chapter 1](#), theorized that culture drives itself forward as specific inventions are made, such as fire, pottery, writing, iron, etc. Without these successive inventions, cultures become stuck in a stage of savagery or barbarism.¹⁴ The cultures that continued to progress through these successive stages ultimately reached the final stage, "civilization". A key criterion used by Morgan to distinguish civilization from barbarism was the patriarchal or patrilineal family.¹⁵

The unilinear aspect of Morgan's theory is that all cultures from origin to present have passed through these stages: Lower Savagery-Middle Sav-agery-Upper Savagery-Lower Barbarism-Upper Barbarism-Civilization.¹⁶ Morgan's criteria were presented as linear and sequential, and by implication if you examined a culture that practiced matrilineal social organization, you have in fact observed a culture or people still in their savage/ barbaric state.

As a counter to the work of Morgan, Bachofen, and Engles, Cheikh Anta Diop presented his own hypothesis, which he called the “Two Cradle Theory”. Diop states:

In fact, if it were proved contrary to the generally accepted theory—that insisted of a universal transition from matriarchy to patriarchy, humanity has from the beginning been divided into two geographical distinct “cradles” one which was favorable to the flourishing of matriarchy and the other to that of patriarchy, and these two systems encountered one another and even disputed with each other in different human societies, that in certain places they were superimposed on each other, or even existed side by side.¹⁷

The term cradle has several definitions that Diop clearly envisioned as the basis to formulate his hypothesis. The most common definition of cradle is a baby’s small bed. Also a cradle is known as a place of things beginning¹⁸. In any case, the word cradle is almost in all cases associated with infancy, and also a place where an infant spends a great deal of time in his formative years. Therefore, cradle in this case is a metaphor for environment, one labeled “northern” and the other “southern”. When the two cradles exist side by side or are imposed on one another, Diop labels these areas as Zones of Confluence.

Consequently, it would be impossible for these two different cradles of humanity the north located around the Eurasian steppes- favorable to nomadic life, and the southern cradle, Africa in particular, favorable to the sedentary/agricultural life, to produce the same political and social organization.¹⁹ In fact, if the patriarchal family and social organization was the highest and final stage of a sequential stage of the family as theorized by Bachofen, Morgan and Engles, there should remain some vestiges of the earlier matriarchal family in the northern cradle’s mythology, traditions and kinship terms. Diop states:

As far as we go back in the Indo-European past, even so far back as the Eurasian steppes, there is only to be found the patrilineal genos with the system of consanguinity which at the present day still characterized the descendants.²⁰

In essence each cradle produced a culture that was distinct, with regard to its environmental demands and life needs. Diop listed the characteristics of these two cradles to provide a clear comparison.

What has become clearly important about these two cradles is the fact that they were not complimentary on one another, but in fact were antagonistic. In fact Hans Gunter states: “With Nordic conquerors

father-right spread itself over the regions about Mediterranean.”²¹

The evidence has shown that when nomadic pastoralist people have encountered sedentary/agricultural people the nomadic pastoralist have been installed as the social elites.²² This brings us back to ancient *Kemet* and the Two Cradle theory, which is that if ancient *Kemet* had evolved as a patriarchal society as some Egyptologists claim is in fact would have remained patriarchal throughout its entire history and therefore be a part of the Northern cradle. Also, if a “Dynastic Race” had entered *Kemet* and ignited their civilization, they would have had to have been nomadic and therefore patriarchal. In any case there should be some evidence of patriarchy, particularly among the “ruling” families and social elites.²³

Conversely, if there is sufficient evidence that matrilineal family and social organization were present at the emergence of *Kemet* and remain a strong element of *Kemetic* social organization throughout its history, then *Kemet* must be placed in the southern cradle, as a Black African civilization.

Very few Egyptologists would argue that when Egypt emerged as a civilization its foundation rested on a sedentary lifestyle comprised of small farms and villages.²⁴ While there is disagreement on the chronology of such events²⁵, there is less controversy that *Narmer/Menes* was the one who uni-fied both Upper and Lower *Kemet* and moved the capital to the *Thinnis* area new Abydos. By the Third dynasty the monarchy was institutionalized and all of the technological and cultural elements of what we know now as *Kemetic* civilization were in place.²⁶ These technological and cultural elements needed only to be passed on from generation to generation to perpetuate the *Kemetic* civilization.

Egyptologists have recovered two key pieces at *Hierakonpolis* that refer to *Narmer*: the *Narmer* Palette and the *Narmer* Macehead. The Palette is the earliest historical record from ancient Egypt.

In his book, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, Peter Clayton describes a very important scene on the Palette:

The frontal face of the goddess Hathor is the dominant aspect of both sides of the Palette, and must surely have deep significance in such a prime position. Although Horus was the God of Hierakonpolis (*Nekhen*), and it may be presumed that the principal temple was dedicated to him, it is possible that he is shown on the Palette as the younger Horus who was the son the Hathor, which would explain his mother’s dominant role in Palette’s religious iconography.²⁷

On ancient *Kemet*'s earliest historical record, we see the mother occupying a dominant role in the emerging civilization. An archaeological find at *Helwan* tomb 728 H.5 corroborates the importance of women at the emergence of *Kemet*. Recovered at this site was an ivory plaque of Queen *Nithotep*.²⁸ While Egyptologists debate whether she was the wife/ mother of *Narmer* or *Hor-aha*, her importance in the unification of *Kemet* is unquestioned. Hoffman remarks of her importance with the following statement.

Whoever married whom, the importance of *Nithotep* at practically the moment of unification, as already suggested, parallels the historical position of Isabella of Castile and Leon.²⁹

Still in the first Dynasty, we have record of a queen reigning along or as the regent for her young son. *Merneith*'s tomb found at Abydos with a large stone grave stela recorded her status and her title as "King's Mother".³⁰ This reverence for women is not restricted to the "royalty"; clearly we see by titles of the Old Kingdom women were key participants in all aspects of society.³¹ The first women doctor in world history, "Lady Peseshet" is a product of ancient *Kemet* social organization.³² In the Middle Kingdom there is a continuation of the matrilineal family and social organization.³³

After the collapse of the Middle Kingdom ancient *Kemet* experienced what Egyptologists classify as the Second Intermediate Period. This period saw ancient *Kemet* occupied and ruled by a population from Lower *Kemet* called the Hyksos, meaning "Rulers of Foreign Lands". The Hyksos were a well-organized, well equipped, warlike people who dominated the people of *Kemet* for at least one hundred and fifty years.³⁴ The Hyksos were Asiatic and had migrated into *Kemet*, from lands from the northeast of *Kemet*.

Near the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty the ancient *Kemites* began to fight a war of liberation to free themselves from the oppressive and alien rule of the Hyksos.³⁵ This war of liberation against the Hyksos led by rulers from the Theban Nome was finally completed by *Ahmosé I*, who began what was called the New Kingdom.³⁶

A point to note is that after over one hundred and fifty years of foreign rule the ancient *Kemites* were very much interested in reestablishing their own culture. The New Kingdom undoubtedly reflects the matrilineal family and social organization that was present at the beginning of *Kemet* civilization. This becomes clear by examining the ancestry of *Ahmosé I*. The ancestry of *Ahmosé* can be found on a stela he erected at Abydos to commemorate the

construction of a cenotaph for his mother's mother. Donald Redford in his work entitled: *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* states:

In line 8 of this text the king, in answer to his wife, says: "I have remembered the mother of my mother, the mother of my father, the great King's wife, King's mother *Tetyshery* (in cartouche) ..." That *Tetyshery* represented the first generation of female line from which *Ahmose* sprang is scarcely to be lined from which *Ahmose* sprang is scarcely to be doubted. The purity of descent to which the queens of the Eighteenth Dynasty could lay claim continued throughout seven generations at least from *Tetyshery* to Hatshepsut, and perhaps longer.
37

Considering that the families of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties had fought a war to free themselves of foreign rule and influence, it therefore flies in the face of rationality to conclude that these newly established dynasties would build their family organization to mirror a foreign institution or structure. They clearly would not imitate the family organization of the Hyksos, who were clearly nomadic patriarchal people. The organization of the family around matrilineal principals is to be considered a reestablishment of authentic *Kemet*ic culture.

In fact, the women in *Kemet* during this period exercised power in every capacity. Redford illustrates this point clearly when he states:

Although the king was the real head of state and command in chief of the army, the queen stood surprisingly close to him in both of these departments. She was well informed on matters of state, exercising considerable influence over the heir presumptive and presumably over her husband as well; and she even commanded her own body of troops! Nor did her influence decline with the passing of her husband; the queen-mother and the dowager queen retain their position of authority vis-à-vis the son and the grandson, and on the monuments are shown together with the king sometimes to the exclusion of the queen. This matriarchal streak is one of the most striking features of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁸

By compartmentalizing ancient *Kemet* in pseudo time periods such as Old, Middle, New Kingdoms, it appears that there existed something as "matri-archal streak", emerging in the New Kingdom. Yet, when ancient *Kemet* is seen as one entire civilization, that lasted over three thousand years, one can observe its clear cultural continuity. A key aspect of that cultural continuity is based on the matrilineal family and social organization.

The relationship between *Kemet* and Nubia provide an excellent

opportunity to study the social organization of ancient Kemet. Theophile Obenga in an article entitled: “Nubia and its Relationship with Egypt (1780–700 B.C.)”, that appears in UNESCO’s *History of Humanity, Volume II*, states two very important points about this relationship:

1. From 1780 BC to 1785 BC Egypt under the Sesostriids was omnipresent in Nubia, as it was to be again from 1500 to 1100 BC under the rulers of the New Kingdom. On the other hand during the 25th Dynasty it was the kings of Kush who established themselves in Egypt and ruled the country from 747 to 656 BC.
2. It is difficult to know if the Nubians physically resembled their neighbors. Diodorus of Sicily made the following anthropological observation on some Ethiopians: “and particularly those living on the banks of the river (Nile) had black skin, flat noses and frizzy hair”. Herodotus the “father of History”, had already noted that the “Egyptians had dark skin”. These features, which come within the province of physical anthropology, provide arguments for the view that “Nubians and Pharaonic Egyptians were Black Africans like all other Black Africans of the continent: Sara Galla, Bantu, Yoruba, Mossi, Dogon, Wolof, Fulani, Malinke, Songhai and so on.”³⁹

I emphasize these two points to show that there had been long contact between *Kemet* and Nubia and that both the ancient *Kemites* and ancient Nubians were of the same race. In fact, there existed a Nubian-Nile Valley cultural complex. However, according to scholars, the contact between Nubia and ancient *Kemet* in the New Kingdom resulted in a complete Egyptianization of Nubia:

We have already seen that temples were built all over Nubia by the Kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Then towns important as religious, commercial and administrative centers grew around those temples. Nubia was entirely reorganized on purely Egyptian lines and a completely Egyptian system of administration was set up, entailing the presence of a considerable number of Egyptian scribes, priests, soldiers and artisans.⁴⁰

This Egyptianization of Nubia must be reflected in its social organization of the family. It stands to reason that if the ancient Nubian family was organized matrilineally then so was that of ancient

Kemet. This position is stated also by Redford when he says:

Coming now within the geographically sphere of Egypt's influence, we find matriarchal tendencies strong in Nubia and Kush from ancient through modern times, at least in the ruling families. The queen mother in the royal house of seventh century Napata held a dominant and respected position, and the passage of time did nothing but enhance the power of Meroe the matrilineal descent of the heir designate was apparently the rule, and not infrequently a succession of queens found occupying the Merotic throne for long periods.⁴¹

Redford seems to think that Nubia somehow moved into *Kemet's* geographical space. What he obviously means is that Nubia come under the cultural influence of *Kemet*, which infers that ancient *Kemet* clearly was matriarchal and the *Kemites* passed this type of family and social organization on to Nubia, Kush and Meroe; all had the practice of matrilineal family and social organization as a result of their evolution in the "Southern Cradle" of Africa, or since time immemorial.⁴²

When the Kushites installed themselves as the rulers of ancient *Kemet* during the twenty-fifth Dynasty they saw themselves as restorers of *Kemet's* ancient tradition:

Shabako (715–702 BC), the first sovereign of the 25th Dynasty of Egypt, known as the "Ethiopian: Dynasty, which also included *Shaba-taka* (702–609 BC), *Taharka*, undoubtedly the greatest sovereign of the Dynasty and *Tunutamun* (604–659 BC). It should be noted that royal succession was matrilineal ... A Greek source (Nicholas of Damascus) specifically makes this point.⁴³

The schizophrenic dichotomous paradigm of European scholarship recognizes the matrilineal social structure of the Nubian, Kush and Meroe, while denying that it existed in ancient *Kemet*, although it is plainly stated that Nubia was thoroughly Egyptianized in all aspects of culture.

Powerful women were a staple of *Kemet* society; four women ruled as Pharaohs: *Nitocris* (Sixth Dynasty), *Sobeknefru* (Twelfth Dynasty), *Hatchepsut* (Eighteenth Dynasty) and *Twosret* (Nineteenth Dynasty); along with women such as *Tiye*, *Nefertari*, *Ahotep* and *Ahmosis-Nefertari*.

Neferiti had an exceptional place in *Kemet* history and wielded great influence in both political and religious arenas. Exhibitions of power like this by women could not have happened in a patriarchal

society.

Hoffman in his work *Egypt Before the Pharaohs*, remarks ... precedents already set by *Nithotep* and *Merneith* in the early first Dynasty and continued in later years by strong women like *Tetisheri* and *Hap-shepsawe* of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is likely that such periodic re-emergence of powerful women throughout Egyptian history reflect not only strong and opportunistic personalities, but the existence of certain underlying social rules or alternatives such as matrilineal descent, which provided a convention sanction for the explicit political prominence of women in ancient Egypt.⁴⁴

Hoffman's point is not to be taken lightly, for certainly women in other civilizations were as intelligent, creative and determined as women in ancient *Kemet*. However, without "social rules" or "Alternatives" there existed no avenues or precedents for women to seek or exercise power. Yet in ancient *Kemet* women clearly had access to status and power because of the matrilineal social organization of the family.

Diop selects the term Aryan to designate the people of the Northern Cradle; he explains this distinction in this manner:

By "Aryan" I was designating the early white inhabitants of what I call the "northern Cradle"—that is Northern Europe. Within this context, the term Aryan is devoid of racist connotation given it by people such as Hitler, I mean the original white tribes of Northern Europe who spoke what is known as "Indo-European" languages and whose dispersal began after the 2nd Millennium BC. We know these original white populations as Aryan ... The reason I use the term frequently in my works, rather than the term Indo-European commonly used by European has a purely linguistic classification.⁴⁵

The clarification between "Aryan" and "Indo-European" is crucial to understanding the clear context of Diop's Two Cradle Theory, first because languages can be spoken by a variety of peoples even by those who are classified as belonging to different races and second at the time when Diop was writing the description of the Aryan was linked to a pure Nordic stock. Childe provides us with a clear description of the Aryan Model Diop discusses:

The great majority of investigators from Omalius de Halloy and Latham onwards, who have accepted the doctrine of a

European Cradle land, have located it somewhere on the Great Plains that extends from the North Sea to the Caspian. Not only does this region fulfill the condition of postulated by linguistic paleontology better than other, it was also the area of characterization where tall blonde stock, the European race par excellence, was evolved. And all advocates of a cradle in Europe, who have appealed to anthropological results at all, have conceived of the original Aryans, as Blondes.⁴⁶

While this description of the Aryans was once widely accepted it has since been rejected by most scholars.

When we examine the Northern cradle, invariably we must confront the Indo-European question. The term Indo-European refers to a group of people linked by their linguistic classification.⁴⁷ As to the origin of this group of people, a solution has yet to be found. Currently there exist numerous theories in regard to their origin.⁴⁸ Some scholars look to Asia for their homeland, while other scholars theorize that Europe is indeed their homeland.

Early in the nineteenth century scholars looked to Asia as the homeland of the Indo-European, primarily because this theory was supported by the Bible, where Indo-Europeans were believed to be descendants of Japhet, a son of Noah. This superior race, primarily a pastoral people, migrated spreading the gifts of civilization from Asia to Europe.⁴⁹

The primary point is that scholars have reconstructed proto-Indo-European society through linguistic evidence. What we can say for certain is that the Indo-Europeans were a nomadic, pastoral people. Linguistic evidence reveals that the Indo-Europeans only recognized three seasons, spring, winter and summer. The implications of this evidence are spelled out by Von Ihering in his work, *Evolution of the Aryan*:

Just as the language of the Aryans possesses no expression for “plough”, so it has none for “autumn”, of the seasons it distinguishes only “sum-mer” (*sama*) and “winter” (*hima*). Autumn has no meaning to the Sheppard ... The introduction of the word for autumn is a sure sign of the introduction of agriculture, its absence with a people of such cultivated speech as the Aryans is an equally sure sign of a mere Shep-pard life.⁵⁰

The horse was also a fundamental part of Indo-European society; so much so that their house (a wagon) was considered a movable possession.⁵¹

When we examine the family in Indo-European society all evidence demonstrates the family and social organization were strictly patriarchal. According to Emile Benveniste author of *Indo-European Language and Society*:

Latin has three adjectives derived from *pater*. Only one is Indo-European: this is *patrius*, which in fact goes back to **pater* in its most ancient and classificatory sense (*patria potestas*); we know that there was not and could not have been, a corresponding **matrius*.⁵²

In short, in Proto-Indo-European language there exists a term for father, but there was not and could not have been a corresponding term for mother. This information demonstrates that the hypothesis of Morgan, Briffault, Bachofen and Engles that state that all societies pass through an early archaic stage of matriarchy is groundless Childe states:

A very large number of sociologists contend that the system of reckoning descent through the female has everywhere and always preceded the more familiar patrilineal system. Of uterine kinship the Indo-European language reveals no trace; the Aryan name for kindred (3) is exceptionally widely diffused and preserves a remarkable uniformity of meaning in all linguistics groups. They all without exception refer to agnatic relationships. We are then warranted in inferring that the Aryan family was patrilineal and patriarchal.⁵³

In this type of family and social organization the woman when married had to provide a dowry or gift to live in the house of her husband. The wife becomes a piece of property, along with other property that the husband possesses, such as his weapon, his horse, his bondman, etc. This was so much the state of affairs in ancient times that at the husband's death the wife was required to mount a stake and be burned alive-widow burning.⁵⁴ Surely in this type of society the birth of a daughter was not greeted with happiness. As Von Ihering reports, "Only the son was received at birth with joy: the daughter with repugnance. Daughters are a sorrow; sons are the fathers pride and glory."⁵⁵

It is clear that Proto-Indo-European society was patriarchal and women were relegated to "property status". Moreover, the status of women in European society changed little from antiquity until the eighteenth century.⁵⁶

The proto-culture located in the Zone of Confluence that is clearly

distinguishable is that of Mesopotamia. The history of Mesopotamia covers a period of some three thousand years. Its key centers range from Sumer, Akkad, Babylon and Assyria; and are as diverse as the geography and the people of Mesopotamia. The environment that gave birth to this civilization was rough and harsh. The Tigris and Euphrates were violent and unpredictable forces of nature that made life tenuous.⁵⁷

The Sumerians who laid the cultural foundation for Mesopotamian civilization were farmers and city builders. Evidence seems to imply that the women of Sumer were held in high esteem and the family was organized in a matrilineal structure.⁵⁸ However, as the Sumerians came in contact and were conquered by a nomadic Semitic people, the status of women changed considerably.

Our best knowledge of social conditions in Mesopotamia is taken from the various recorded Law Codes. There exist primarily three Law Codes; the first is from near the town of *Eshunna* (1800 B.C.E.), the second is that of the Code of Hammurabi (1700 B.C.E.) and the third is from the Assyrian scribes (1100 B.C.E.).⁵⁹ The most famous record and clearest declaration on the status of women comes from the Code of Hammurabi. Hammurabi was known as a “just King”, whose primary goal was to regulate the social relations of his people. One of the statuettes of the code of Hammurabi states:

If an obligation came due against a free man and he sold the services of his wife, his son or his daughter or he has been bound over to service, they shall work in the house of their purchaser or oblige for three years, with their freedom reestablished in the fourth.⁶⁰

The Code of Hammurabi demonstrates that women and children were considered property and they could be sold or leased by the husband to repay a debt. Similarly, in the case where a woman is the victim of a rape, the crime was seen more in the terms of a property crime than a moral outrage. Vern L. Bullough in his work entitled, *The Subordinate Sex: a History of Attitudes toward Women*, summarized the condition of women in Mesopotamia:

Women were basically property. They were neither to be seen nor heard. Women were always under the control of a male. Until the time of her marriage a girl remained under the protection of her father ... once married she was under the control of her husband ... During the marriage ceremony a free woman assumed a veil which she wore from then on outside her home. In fact the veil was the mark of a free woman. Other

than tavern keepers, the only other occupations for women mentioned in the Law Codes were as priestess and prostitutes ... Even wives of the king were not important enough to be regarded as queens ... chief wife was instead usually called “she of the pal-ace” and lived along with other concubines and other wives in a harem guarded by eunuchs.⁶¹

The family in Mesopotamia was strictly patriarchal with descent being recognized patrilineally. In the family structure, the man was called, *belum* “master”. The man was also known as the *bel ashshatim*, “the wife’s mas-ter” and as head of the household depending on his disposition he punished or pardoned her behavior.⁶² In Assyria in the second millennium, the husband had the right to beat his wife, whip her, pull her hair out, bruise and or injure her as he wished and if she was known to be adulterous he could kill her.⁶³

Contemporary societies of ancient *Kemet* and Mesopotamia exhibit distinct forms of social organization, one being patrilineal-Mesopotamia and the other being matrilineal-ancient *Kemet*. This point is made clear by Henri Frankfort:

For a comparison between Egypt and Mesopotamia discloses not only that writing, representational art, monumental architecture and a new kind of political coherence were introduced in the two countries; it also reveals the striking fact that purpose of their writing, the contents of their representations, the functions of their monumental buildings and the structure of their new societies differed completely. What we observe is not merely the establishment of civilized life, but the emergence, concretely of the distinctive “forms” of Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilization.⁶⁴

What is evident is that ancient *Kemet* can not be considered a Semitic society and the status and treatment of women only highlights this reality. This is not a major problem among specialists, yet it becomes problematic when modern day Arabs in Egypt, for tourism purposes, lay claim to the Black African Egypt of antiquity.⁶⁵

Examining the proto-cultures of three distinct civilizations in antiquity illustrates clearly Cheikh Anta Diop’s Two Cradle Theory. This picture of the anterior civilizations allows the evidence to point out which current and subsequent societies can be traced back to these proto-cultures. For example, it is evident that Greece and Rome and families and social organization emerge from a proto Indo-European culture. As well, the proto-culture in Mesopotamia gave birth to subsequent Semitic civilizations in the Semitic world-Babylon,

Assyria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Likewise, when ancient *Kemet* is examined as a proto-culture, it is apparent that ancient *Kemet* gave birth to subsequent Black African societies such as Nubia, Kush, Meroe and Ancient Ghana.

This book operationalized civilization as: the highest cultural grouping of a people and the broadest level of cultural identity. It is defined by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions and the subjective self-identification of people.

This definition was chosen from the text entitled, “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”, with a practical purpose, because the author, Samuel P. Huntington is a conservative political theorist who states that “most scholars of civilization ... do not recognize a distinct African civilization.”⁶⁶

By using Huntington’s criteria we can place ancient *Kemet* as originator of the proto-culture of Black African civilizations:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Geography: | <i>Kemet</i> is located in Northern Africa. |
| Language: | Ancient <i>Kemetic</i> language is genetically linked to Black African languages. |
| History: | Shared. |
| Religion: | Spiritually based. |
| Customs: | Divine Kingship, Matriarchy, Totemism, Cosmogony, Ancestor Worship. |
| Subjective Self Identification: | Iconographic evidence demonstrates that the ancient <i>Kemites</i> identified themselves with the rest of Black Africa. |

Conclusion

My book was written to add new insight on the question of ancient *Kemetic* family and social organization. The book revealed that some Egyptologists state that ancient *Kemetic* society was organized along patrilineal lines, while other Egyptologists argue that ancient *Kemetic* family and social organization was matrilineal. Also, the book revealed that this problem was exacerbated by several factors; first the imposition of Western/Indo-European kinship terms on those of ancient *Kemet*, thereby altering the social reality; second, a basic lack of understanding of the role and function of kinship terms in general and those of ancient *Kemet* specifically; and third, a Eurocentric approach that employed both Hegelian and ethnocentric anthropological assumptions about ancient *Kemet* and the family. By proceeding in this direction Western scholars have been unable to grasp the true nature of ancient *Kemetic* society and in particular the relationship between family and social organization.

Consequently, by using the Indo-European family model (nuclear family) without any other real criteria, their research has been able to support several Eurocentric constructs about ancient *Kemet*: (1) that ancient *Kemetic* society was not an authentic civilization which is unsupportable; (2) ancient Egyptian family and social organization was not matrilineal, which is also purely false; (3) somehow ancient *Kemetic* society is historically, geographically and culturally unique and is unrelated to the traditional African family and social organization although it seems the most egregious this last notion is actually false. These findings illustrate that the ancient *Kemetic* society was based on the African model, featuring distinct characteristics with radiate this fact.

The question of whether ancient *Kemetic* society was matrilineal or patrilineal is of fundamental importance to Africa. By demonstrating that ancient *Kemetic* family and social organization was matrilineal allows one to state clearly that ancient *Kemet* was a Black African society and a product of the Southern Cradle along with the rest of Black African societies. Also, it dismisses the notion of a sequential and linear evolution of civilization that ends with patriarchy being the highest form of civilization. Lastly, ancient *Kemet's* matrilineal family and social organization reveals the continuity of African history and

the compatibility of matrilineal social organization with civilization.

The methodology of this study was guided by the philosophical concept of Afrocentricity. Using an Afrocentric approach, one that reserves African agency and validity this study considered Africa the source and lens with which to analyze *Kemet* culture. The primary assumption is that one must first understand the African family and social organization prior to exploring those of ancient *Kemet*. By using the Afrocentric paradigm, a holistic approach to data could be employed to analyze the data gathered.

Proceeding from an Afrocentric perspective and using techniques from Egyptology, anthropology and linguistics this book set out to determine if ancient *Kemet* family and social organization was organized in a matrilineal fashion. My framework rested on the work of Cheikh Anta Diop, particularly his text “Cultural Unity of Black Africa.” It is in text that Diop posits his Two Cradle Theory and demonstrates ancient *Kemet*’s cultural links to Black Africa. While Diop described the characteristics of the Two Cradle Theory, he never fully demonstrated them. This book attempts to do just that with the characteristics of matrilineal family and social organization.

The first evidence presented in this study is that of ancient *Kemet* texts. These texts, whether classified as “Instruction”, “Legal”, or “Letters” all demonstrate that women in ancient *Kemet* were free to do business, inherit property, disinherit who they saw fit hold titles and positions and were overall valued members of society. In this same chapter this book supports that research with a typology of the ancient *Kemet* family through iconographic evidence. The stelae, statuettes and tomb paintings illustrates the love, affection and tenderness dispelled by *Kemet* married couples toward each other. What is also clear is that this type of affection and tenderness was displayed by married couples on all levels of society from royal married couples and non-royal couples. Polygamy was also a social acceptable form of marriage. The known cases of polygamy in ancient *Kemet* were polygynous in nature.

This book offers for the first time an Africalogical conception of the ancient *Kemet* family through ancient *Kemet* family vocabulary words. Also, several ancient *Kemet* stelae are translated to illustrate the complete cultural context of ancient *Kemet* kinship terms. Ancient *Kemet* kinship terms are explored in the context of their classificatory nature, with the full range of their meaning analyzed.

The ancient *Kemites* used six elementary kinship terms:  it-father,  mwt-mother,  sn(t)-brother/sister,  sA(t) -son/daughter,  h3y-husband,  Hmt-wife. The ancient *Kemites* did not use or have terms such as uncle/aunt, niece/nephew, or cousins as a part of their kinship terminology. This not

only illustrates the similarity between ancient *Kemet* and Black African societies, but also demonstrates the closeness of ancient Kemetite society.

Another key aspect of this study is to compare the kinship terms of ancient *Kemet* with those of Semitic (Akkadian), Indo-European and Black Africa. The initial comparison is between ancient *Kemetite* kinship terms with those of the oldest Semitic language, Akkadian. This is done first to illustrate the principle of contemporary languages and to determine of these languages, ancient *Kemetite* and Akkadian can be said to be genetically linked. Broadening this comparison to encompass Semitic, Indo-European and Black Africa, helped us to determine clearly which languages share the most common characteristics and is said to be genetically linked. This study demonstrates that there is not a sound scholarly basis for placing ancient *Kemetite* language in the Afroasiatic linguistic family.

This book concludes with a discussion on Cheikh Anta Diop's Two Cradle Theory, in which the proto-cultures of the Northern, Southern and Zone of Confluence are examined in relation to their family and social organization. By examining the status of women in these proto-cultures allows us to highlight a fundamental difference between these proto-cultures. This difference in regard to women also exists in the subsequent offspring of their initial proto-culture. When the three proto-cultures are compared it becomes radically impossible to state that ancient *Kemetite* civilization evolved from Indo-European or Semitic cultures. Yet, it is clear that there exist a connection between ancient *Kemet* and Black African societies. Moreover, the evidence illustrates that when one examines African history from its most anterior point ancient *Kemet*, the fundamental characteristics, values and structure of "African civilization" can be defined.

The work of Cheikh Anta Diop as it is undertaken in the United States must proceed from an Afrocentric perspective. His work provides a guide while Afrocentricity provides the framework and philosophical approach needed. This book has provided an example of the research rewards using Diop's work as a guide through an Afrocentric perspective. Cheikh Anta Diop's legacy must be carried out by a generation of scholars committed to excellence. All the characteristics of Diop's Two Cradle Theory can be examined and demonstrated with historical evidence, along with demonstrating the cultural commonalities between *Kemet* and African cultures.

As African people try to regain their historical memory, this book can serve as a guide for family and social organization. The family and social organization of *Kemet* was matrilineal. Through foreign influences and changing environment, African people have had to alter their original family structure. In the west, the matrilineal family has

been labeled as pathological; therefore this whole idea needs to be readdressed in light of current research from an Afrocentric perspective.

Afrocentric scholars and linguists must reject the idea of an ancient *Kemetic* language existing as a part of the Afroasiatic linguistic family. The ancient *Kemet* language should be considered a part of the Black African language family.

In conclusion this book demonstrates that the ancient *Kemetic* family and social organization was organized around matrilineal lines. The family in ancient *Kemet* consisted of both monogamous and polygynous married couples with children. The language of ancient *Kemet* is clearly linked genetically to the rest of Black Africa. *Kemetic* culture that is family, social organization, language, history, identity is shared by the rest of Black Africa. The civilizations of ancient *Kemet* are the proto-cultural incubator for the civilizations of the Southern cradle, Black Africa. This book indicates that the Afrocentric perspective is a viable alternative reach model to the current Eurocentric paradigm. With the Afrocentric paradigm, old facts become new and new facts are infinite.

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. F. Petrie, *The Wisdom Of The Egyptians* (London: Bernard Quaritch LTD., 1940).
2. R. Linton, "The Natural History of the Family," *Readings In Introductory Anthropology*, ed. R. Emerick, (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1970), 62–77. Claude Levi Strauss, introduction to *A History of the Family*, by A. Burguiere et al., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 8–71.
3. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Free Press, 1952), 10–11.
4. G. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 1–41.
5. Keesing, R. *Kin Groups and Social Structure* (Orlando: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston. 1975), 13–15.
6. E. Schusky, *Manual For Kinship Analysis* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1983), 23.
7. Franciose Zonabend. "An Anthropological Perspective on Kinship and the Family," A.Burguiere, et al, *A History Of The Family: Volume 1. Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 8–71. S. Sanderson, *Social Evolutionism: A Critical History* (Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1990), 10–30.
8. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, and D.Forde, D. eds., *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950). P. Bohannan, and P. Curtin, *Africa and Africans* (New York: The Natural History Press, 1971), 101–118.
9. C.A. Diop, *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality ?* (Connecticut: Lawrence Hill Books, 1981), 142. Clearly when I speak of "Pre-Colonial" I include the Islamic/Arab expansion into Africa also. The history of what I claim as Black Africa has a clear continuity from ancient Egypt to the ancient Ghanian Empire. Although in Mali, descent is traced matrilineally, this is what can be seen as the beginning of wide spread patrilineal family organization that accompanied Islam.

10. A. Phillips, ed., *Survey Of African Marriage And Family Life* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), “ Since the close of the first world war there has been a great intensification of modern influences among African people. They have experienced the impact of alien political, religious, and economic organizations and of various other factors which have shaken the foundations of community life. The family is the most significant feature of African society, and the process of disintegration is nowhere more apparent than in this central institution.” ix.
11. David Green, trans., *The History Book II*, by Herodotus (Illinois: Chicago University Press, 1976). E. Murphy, trans., *The Antiquities of Egypt: A Translation with Notes of Book 1 of the Library of Diodorus Siculus* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 100.
12. J. J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right: Selected Writings of Johann Jakob Bachofen* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967). Although Bachofen cited ancient Egypt as the epitome of the feminine principle, he advocated the sequential theory of social evolution, with matriarchy giving way to patriarchy. R. Briffault, *The Mothers: A Study of the Origins of Sentiments and Institutions* (New York: Macmillian Co., 1927). C. A. Diop, *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (New Jersey: Third World Press, 1976). This issue is a part of a larger debate started in “Victorian Anthro-pology” that pits the works cited against other notable work such as Henry Maine’s, *Ancient Law* (1861), John McLennan’s, *Primitive Marriage* (1865), and Lewis Morgan’s, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871), all of which championed the “patriarchal theory”.
13. M. Asante, *Kemet: Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), Africology is defined, therefore as the afrocetric study of phenomena, events, ideas and personalities related to Africa.” 14.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. M. Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroaisatic Roots of Classical Civilization, Volume 1. The Fabrication of Greece 1785–1985* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 189–223. For a clear analysis of the controversy surrounding Bernal’s work see: J. Berlinerblau, *Heresy in the University: The Black Athena Controversy and the Responsibilities of American Intellectuals*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999).
2. R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (West-port: Greenwood Press, 1991), Buckle’s quote comes from the *Oxford Eng-lish Dictionary*, but is quoted here on page 34.
3. P. Singer, *Hegel* (England: Oxford University Press, 1983), vii.

4. M. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity And Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), 31–35.
5. R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991), “The discipline as presently understood took institutional form roughly between 1850 and 1880.” 13. J. Baines, and J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Equinox Books, 1980), “The aims of scientific excavations in Egypt first started in 1862 by Scott Alexander Rhind (1833–63), but were not realized on any scale until the work of Petrie (1853–1942). Petrie first went to Egypt in 1880.” 26. J. Putman, *Egyptology: An Introduction to the History, Art, and Culture of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Crescent Books, 1990), 6–11. J. Wortham, *The Genesis of British Egyptology: 1549–1906* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1971). Although the French through Champollion are regarded as the founders of modern Egyptology, its systematic study did not emerge until the 1880’s. For instance Wilkerson’s work *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, which appeared in 1854 only interpreted tomb paintings, and did not translate any texts.
6. G. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1983), 91.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
12. T. Obenga, *Lost Tradition: African Philosophy in World History* (Philadelphia: Source Editions, 1995), 5. S. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996), 40–48.
13. B. Davidson, *Africa In History: Themes and Outlines* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1996), “The advocates of this discourse-Hegel most typically, but duly followed by a host of other “justifiers”-declared that Africa had no history prior to direct contact with Europe. Therefore the Africans, having made no history of their own, had clearly made no development of their own. Therefore they were not properly human.” xxii. A. Toynbee, *A Study Of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934). A. Mazuri, *The African Condition* (Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1980), “The most notorious example recently continues to be the assertion of Sir Hugh Trevor-Roper, the Regis Professor of Modern History at Oxford University: maybe in the future there will be some African History, but at the moment there is none. . . There is only the history of Europeans in Africa.” 6. Although some Africans in America have had a difficult time grasping their connection to Africa, Western historiography has not had the same problem. Consequently, Africans in America were told that they had no history also.

14. H. Schneider, *The Africans: An Ethnological Account* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 9–14.
15. S. Moore, “Changing Perspectives on a Changing Africa: The Work of Anthropology.” in Bates and Mudimbe, eds., *Africa and the Disciplines* (Chicago: University Illinois Press, 1993), 3–57. G. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press Macmillan, 1987). R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991), 219.
16. T. Trautman, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). C. Resek, *Lewis Henry Morgan: American Scholar* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960). B. Stern, *Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931). For a review of Morgan’s evolutionary scheme see S. Sanderson, *Social Evolutionism: A Critical History* (Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1990, 11–14.
17. L. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (Illinois: Charles H. Keer and Co., 1908), “Moreover, the patriarchal family, whether of the Roman or of the Hebrew type, was entirely unknown throughout the period of savagery, through the Older and probably Middle, and far into the Later Period of Barbarism. After the gens had appeared, ages upon ages, and even period upon period, rolled away before the monogamian family came into existence. It was not until after civilization commenced that it became permanently established.” 477. Morgan’s work was used by Engels to develop his work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1888).
18. The term civilization had been used and defined in various ways by Western Anthropologist and historians. Some used it synonymously with culture, others used the term with regards to science and technological innovations. For Morgan and others civilizations was a stage of evolution, combined with certain characteristics, such as: animal domestication, irrigation, agriculture, the use of iron, phonetic alphabet, and production of literacy works, taxation, monumental buildings, incipient science, full time craft specialization. See: R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts In Cultural Anthropology* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991), 33–3.
19. *Ibid.*, p.382.
20. H. Barnes, *Historical Sociology: Its Origins and Development. Theories of Social Evolution From cave Life to Atomic Bombing.* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1948), 31. Other key works of the era classical period were Bachofen, J. *Das Mutterrecht* (1861), Maine, H. *Ancient Law.* (1861), McClean, J. *Primitive Marriage* (1865), Spencer, H. *Descriptive Sociology* (1871), Tylor, E. *Primitive Culture* (1871), Darwin, C. *Origin of Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871).
21. S. Mintz and R. Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon press, 1992), 7–22.

22. R. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro*. (London: Collier Brooks, 1969). R. Gavin and J. Betley, *The Scramble for Africa: Documents on the Berlin West African Conference and related Subjects 1884–1885* (Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1973). T. Parkenham, *The Scramble for Africa: Whiteman's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*. (New York: Avon Books, 1991). Primarily Morgan's work dealt with the Native Americans in North America, because the United States never maintained any colonies in Africa (except Liberia). Whereas the British and French schools of anthropology produced numerous studies on African societies. Not until Herskovits' work *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) do any substantial anthropological works appear on Africa and Africa-Americans by an American Anthropologist. N. Whitten and J. Szewed eds., *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*. (New York: Free Press, 1970), 23.
23. J. Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), x. In the United States, the post Civil War era began the high point for pseudo-scientific inquiries such as "crainology" and "phrenology." Also see W. Stanton, *The Leopards Spots: Scientific Attitude toward race in America, 1815–1859* (Illinois University Press, 1960). "A grand theme of conversation discusses the infamous *Crania Aegyptica* by Samuel Morton. 45–53. M. Wolpoff, and R. Caspari, *Race and Human Evolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 77–98.
24. N. Stepan, *The Idea of race and Science* (London: Archon Books, 1982). T. Gossett, *Race: The history of An Idea in America*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1963). G. Stocking, *Race Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968). J. Rushton. *Race, Evolution and Behavior*. (New Jersey: Transactions Publishers, 1995). M. Wolpoff and R. Caspari, *Race and Human Evolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, (1997). 59–77. F. Hertz, *Race and Civilization* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1928). E. Tylor *Anthropology: An Introduction To the Study of Man and Civilization* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1898), 13. C. Putnam, *Race and Reason* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961).
25. D.E. Derry, "The Dynastic Race in Egypt", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, no. 42 (1956): 80–85, W. MacGaffey, Concepts of Race in the Historiography of Northeast Africa". *Journal of African history*, no. I, Volume II (1966): 1–17. E. Sanders, The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and function In Time Perspective." *Journal of African History*, no.4 Volume X, (1969): 521–532. J. Baines, "Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy." *American Anthropologist*, No. 2 volume 87, (1985): 282–298. C. Diop, *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* (Westport: Lawrence hill Books, 1974), "the birth of Egyptology was marked by a need to destroy the memory of a Negro Egypt at any cost and in all minds." 45. St. Claire Drake, *Black Folk Here and There*. (California: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1991). J. Brunson, "Ancient Egyptians: The Dark Red Myth." *Journal of African Civilizations*, Volume 10, (1989): 55–82.
26. This schematic was laid out in the class taught by Theophile Obenga, at Temple University: *Cheikh Anta Diop and History*. 446 Spring 96.

27. C. A. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1991).
28. St. Clair Drake, *Black Folk Here and There: Volume 1*. (California: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1987), 130–131. St. Clair Drake, *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion*. (Illinois: Third World Press, 1982), 54–75.
29. J. Carruthers, *Essays in Ancient Egyptian Studies* (California: University of Sankore Press, 1984), 36. For information and biographies about these early scholars see: E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1971). V. Loggins, *The Negro Author: his Development in America to 1900* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1964). B. Jackson, *A History of Afro-American Literature: Volume 1* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 200–218.
30. J. Carruthers, *Ibid, Essays* p. 36.
31. J. Carruthers, *Ibid, Essays* p. 37.
32. M. Asante, and W. Asante, *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990). I. Van Sertima, ed., preface of *Great African Thinkers* (New Jersey: Journal of African Civilizations, 1986) Volume 8 No.1. T. Obenga, *Lost Tradition: African Philosophy in World History* (Philadelphia: Source Editions, 1983).
33. This point should not be understated, because of Diop's understanding of African culture from the inside. He was able to clearly distinguish the commonalities between ancient Egypt and black Africa.
34. G. Mokhtar, ed., *The General History of Africa: Studies and Documents: Proceedings of the symposium held in Cairo from 28 January to February 1974* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). G. Mokhtar, ed., *General History of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
35. M. Karenga, "Black Studies and the Problematic of Paradigm: The Philosophical Dimension." *Journal of Black Studies*, no.4 Volume 18 (June 1988): 395–414. T. Kershaw, "Toward A Black Studies Paradigm: An Assessment and Some Direction." *Journal of Black Studies*, no.4 Volume 22, (June 1992): 477–493. N. Harris, "A Philosophical basis for an Afrocentric Orientation." *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, no.3. Volume 16 (1992): 154–159.
36. M. Asante, "Locating a Text: Implications of Afrocentric Theory" *Language and Literature in the African-American Imagination*, ed., C. Black-shire-Belay, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), 9–20. M. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), 117. M. Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero: And Other Afrocentric Essays* (Trento: Africa World Press, 1993), 99–115.
37. F. Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* (London: Constable and Company LTD., 1924), 119.

38. M. Murray, *The Splendor That was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian History and Culture* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), 100.
39. P. Clayton, *Chronicle of The Pharaohs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 32.
40. C.A. Diop, *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), 142.
41. A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971), 155.
42. A. Forgeau, "The Survival of the Family Name and the Pharaonic Order", in Françoise Zonabend, ed., et al *History of The Family*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1996), 135.
43. D. O'Connor, *Ancient Egyptian Society* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990), 8.
44. P. Johnson, *The Civilization of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Atheneum, 1978), 98.
45. B. J. Kemp, ed., et al, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 219.
46. B. Trigger, *Early Civilizations: Ancient Egypt In Context* (Egypt: American University In Cairo Press, 1993), "The study of everyday life in ancient Egypt has not been of central concern. Its understanding has been treated as something that emerges naturally out of familiarity with data, rather than as a form of investigation that require special training. Egyptologists tend to assume that no particular expertise is needed to understand the behavior of the ancient Egyptians." 2.
47. M. Murray, "Genealogies of the Middle Kingdom", *Ancient Egypt* (June 1927): 45.
48. J. Cerny, "Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt", *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, Volume 40 (1954): 27.
49. Cerny's study was limited to non-royal families, it is known that in the royal families brothers and sisters would sometimes marry to cement and maintain royal blood lines. Diop calls this "royal incest" However, when this happened the "sister" would always have a title such as *Snt nsw*, King's Sister, or *S3t nsw*, King's Daughter, with *Hmt nsw*, King's Wife, always coming next to King's sister. Sometimes these women were "real" sisters to their husbands and some were not. For example, Queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III held the title King's Sister, and in fact she was not his sister or half sister. A. Nur El Din, *The Role Of Women In The Ancient Egyptian Society*. (Cairo: S.C.A. Press, 1995), 9-69.

50. J. Cerny, "Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt", *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, Volume 40 (1954): 24.
51. G. Robbins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), "It is currently held that the term *senet* (sister) to refer to as wife emerges in the mid-eighteenth Dynasty.", 61–62. Bohannon and Curtin, eds., *Africa and Africans* (New York: Natural History Press, 1971), "In contemporary African societies many husbands refer to their wives as sister. "As some Africans put it, your wife of long standing becomes your sister.", 112.
52. J. Cerny, "*Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt*", *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, Volume 40 (1954): 29.
53. R. Middleton, "Brother-Sister and Father-Daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt", *American Sociological Review*, Volume 27 no.5 (October 1962): 603.
54. Most Egyptologists recognize that ancient Egypt that is Pharaonic Egypt begins to change dramatically after the eighteenth Dynasty. See J. Carruthers, *Essays in Ancient Egyptian Studies* Berkeley: University Sankore Press, 1984), 48. A. Bowman, *Egypt After The Pharaohs: 332BC-AD642* (Los Angeles: University California Press, 1986), "The first was the marriage between Philadel-phius and his full sister Arsinoe and the practice was maintained until the end of the dynasty.... Perhaps the Macedonian rulers were indifferent to possible outrage, perhaps they misunderstood the Egyptian habit of using "brother" and "sister" as a form of address between husband and wife.", 24.
55. P. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Germany: Leiden, 1961), .x
56. G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), "There is no mention in our sources of any legal or religious ceremony to formalize a marriage.", 56.
57. S. Whale, *The Family in The Eighteenth Dynasty Of Egypt* (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989), 239.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
60. G. Robbins, *Women of Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 98–99.
61. J. Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 48.
62. E. Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 55.
63. G. Robbins, "Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the

64. M.L. Bierbrier, “Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medina,” *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* Volume 66 (1980): 107.
65. H.O. Willems, “A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom c2000–1650 BC,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* Volume 139 no.1 (1983): 161.
66. G. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1949), 184–260.
67. H. von Wolfgang Helck and W. Westendorf eds., *LEXIKON DER AGYPTOLOGIE*, BAND VI. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 1031–1035.
68. A. Forgeau, “The Survival of the Family Name and the Pharaonic Order,” in F. Zonabend, ed., et al *A History of The Family*, (Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1996), 135.
69. D. Schneider, *American Kinship: A Cultural Account* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968), 21–30.
70. E. Schusky, *Manual For Kinship Analysis* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 16.
71. Schneider and Gough, *Matrilineal Kinship* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1961), 2. R. Feinberg and M. Ottenheimer eds. *The Cultural Analysis of Kinship: The Legacy of David M. Schneider*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), p. 78–118.
72. K.Simpson, “Polygamy in Egypt in The Middle Kingdom?”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* Volume 60 (1974): 100–105. N. Kanawati, “Polygamy in The Old Kingdom of Egypt?”, *Studien Zur Altgyptischen Kultur Band 4* (1976): 149–160. M. El-Amir, “Monogamy, Polygamy, Endogamy and Consanguinity in Ancient Egyptian Marriage”, *Bulletin De L’Institut Francais D’ Archeologie Oriental* Tome LXII. (1964): 103–107.
73. E. Schusky, *Manual For Kinship Analysis* (New York: University Press America, 1983), 11.
74. G. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1949), 12.
75. R. Fox, *Kinship and Marriage* (Maryland: Penguin Books, 1971), 240–262.
76. D. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step* (California: Sage Publications, 1989), see Chapter 2. “Walking in Rhythm: Anthropological Concepts”. M. Hammersley, *Reading Ethnographic Research: A Critical Guide* (New York: Longman Press, 1990), 1–18. J.Thomas, *Doing Critical Ethnography: Qualitative Research Methods Series 26* (California: Sage Publications, 1993). R. Naroll and R. Cohen, eds. *A Handbook Of Method In Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 183.

77. E. Schusky, *Manual For Kinship Analysis* (New York; University Press America, 1983), "In order to introduce precision, the system must be seen from the viewpoint of an individual within it. It is the nature of kin relations that all ambiguity is removed by viewing relationships from a status within the system. The point is elementary and must be thoroughly understood. The system must be entered at one point and viewed from that point. To indicate the point of entry one of the symbols is labeled ego." 9.
78. Ibid. p. 9.
79. K. Pfluger, "The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Volume 67 (1947): 127–134.
80. R. Englebach, ed., "Introduction to Egyptian Archeology," *Bulletin de l'Institut de Fraçais* no.598 (1956): 157–159.
81. J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15.
82. M. Karenga, ed., *Reconstructing Kemetic Culture: Papers, Perspectives, Projects* (Los Angeles: University Sankore Press, 1990).
83. C.A. Diop, *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), xiv.
84. M. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), 12.
85. Ibid. p. 8.
86. W. Nobles, "Ancient Egyptian Thought and the Renaissance of African (Black) Psychology." in Mualana Karenga and Jacob Carruthers, eds., *Kemet and The African Worldview* (Los Angeles: University Sankore Press, 1985), 19–20. I am referring to here both European and Semitic colonialism.
87. M. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), 15.
88. C. T. Keto, *The Africa Centered Perspective of History* (New Jersey: K.A. Publications, 1989), 1.
89. C.A. Diop, *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), 142. Diop uses the term Matriarchy in this work, however in his later work, *Civilization or Barbarism* the terminology is changed to matrilineal.
90. R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts In Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 134.

91. I. Amadiume, *Afrikan Matriarchal Foundations: The Igbo Case* (London: Karnak House, 1987).
92. C.A. Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1978), 28.
93. R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 261–267. R. Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 30.
94. I. Van Sertima, I. ed., *Great African Thinkers: Cheikh Anta Diop, Volume 1* (New Jersey: Transactions Books, 1987), 46–47. Also see A. Nibbi, “A contribution to our Understanding of KMT,” *Discussions in Egyptology* Number 16 (1990): 63. A. Nibbi, “The Two Lands: The black and the red,” *Discussions in Egyptology* Number 22 (1992): 9.
95. A. Nibbi, “A Contribution to our Understanding of KMT,” *Discussions In Egyptology* Number 16 (1990): 63–72. Nibbi, who appears to be writing in a narrow vacuum states “the writing of both these names usually carries determinative which have been completely disregarded by us during the last hundred years.” 63.
96. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (England: Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum, 1994), 31. Paragraphs 23 and 24. Gardiner’s sign list is abbreviated henceforth with a G for Gardiner, and the letter under which the sign appears “A” and the number, “A1”.
97. M. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990), 9.
98. G. Mokhtar, ed. *General History of Africa (Abridged Edition) Volume II. Ancient Civilizations of Africa* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1990), Vii–Xi.
99. G. Connah, *African Civilizations* (England: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1–24.
100. R. Winthrop, *Dictionary Of Concepts In Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 33–37.
101. S. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996), 43.
102. F. Braudel (Translated by Richard Mayne) *A History of Civilization*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), pp. 1–30.
103. Ibid. p-28–29.
104. For a more in-depth read on the idea of gender and social structure see:

Oyeronke Oyewumui *The Invention of Women* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). Ifi Amadiume *Reinventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*. (New York: New York: St Martins Press, 1997), pp.1–71.

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1. C.A. Diop, *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1990), 34.
2. B. Lesko, ed., *WOMEN'S EARLIEST RECORDS: From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987). H. Fischer, *EGYPTIAN WOMEN of The Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period* (New York: Metropolitan Museum Of Art, 1989). G. Robbins, *Women In Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 64.
3. C.A. Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1978), 127–128.
4. F. Zonabend, "An Anthropological Perspective on Kinship and the Family," A. Burgiere, et al *A History of The Family, Volume I* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 13.
5. P. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property In Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961). M. Stead, *Egyptian Life* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), 16.
6. Annie Forgeau "The Survival of the Family Name and the Pharaonic Order". A. Burgiere, et al *The History of the Family. Volume I* (Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1996), 129–130.
7. C. Eyre, "Crime and Adultery in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* Volume 70. (1984): 92–105. F. Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* (London: Constable and Company LTD, 1924). "The same in respect of property; that goes through the , the mistress of the house; we never find , or master of the house."
8. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (California: University of California Press, 1975), 58.
9. Ibid., p. 69.
10. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II: The New Kingdom* (California: University California Press, 1976), 136.
11. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume III: The Late Period*

(California: University California Press, 1980), 168. This age for a respectable time for marriage is commonly used although it from the Late Period.

12. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II Middle Kingdom* (California: University of California Press, 1974), 143.
13. This method requires that you read marriage contracts from later time periods back into Pharaonic Egypt. Its use here is to illustrate the nature of marriage in ancient Egypt with regard to the status of women. Also, most scholars agree that the status of women declined, as ancient Egypt came under the rule of Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs.
14. P. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 17.
15. R. Briffault, *The Mothers: A Study of the Origins of Sentiments And Institutions* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1927), 383.
16. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, eds., *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), "The dowry or dower does not exist in Africa, though writers who do not know, or do not care about, the meanings of words use the term "dowry" quite inappropriately to refer to the "marriage payment.", 46. See also, A. Phillips, ed., *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 232–240. This section explains the impact of Islam in regard to "traditional" African marriage customs, and the status of women under each system. L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979), 109–145.
17. A. Phillips, ed., *Survey Of African Marriage and Family* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), "The term "bride price", which was formerly used for the *quid pro quo*, has been rejected by many anthropologists because of its suggestion of a sale. But the phrase which describes it in many African languages can be literally translated "marriage payment" or even "marriage money", and the word marriage payment will be used in this study. A payment is not necessarily a price, and can be made in many transactions which are not commercial.", 5. The cultural institution of marriage payments among African societies was attacked vigorously by Europeans (Christians), who attempted to eradicate the practice throughout Africa; on the grounds it was "pregnant with Polygamy". L. Harris, "Christian Marriage In African Society: Missions and the Bride-Price," in A. Phillips, ed., *Survey Of African Marriage and Family* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 360–371.
18. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, eds., *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 40–52.
19. F. Dolphyne, *The Emancipation of Women: An African Perspective* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1991), 7.
20. G. Robbins, *Women of Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), "There is no evidence from monuments or elsewhere of concept

- of illegitimacy in children.” 66. E. Murphy, trans., *The Antiquities of Egypt: A Translation, with Notes, of Book I of the Library of History of Diodorus Siculus* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990) “No Child is considered a bastard” 100. C.A. Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1978), 46.
21. F. Dolphyne, *The Emancipation of Women: An African Perspective* (Accra, Ghana Universities Press, 1991), 6.
22. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II: The New Kingdom* (California: University California Press, 1974.), 139.
23. Ibid, p. 141.
24. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (California: University California Press, 1975), 90.
25. J. Cerny, “The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* Volume 30 (1944): 29–53. J. Cerny, and T.E. Peet, A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty: An Unpublished Document From Turin *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* Volume 13 (1927): 30–39.
26. W. Ward, “Non-Royal Women and Their Occupations in the Middle Kingdom,” in B. Lesko, ed., *Women’s Earliest Records: From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989), 33–46, 40–41. “In other words, as scholars produce more and more detailed studies of the numerous terms previously thought to mean “concubine” and “harem-woman” it is becoming increasingly evident that such a social category did not exist. Much the same is true for the harem as an institution where, again it is more a lexical problem than an archaeological problem”.
27. K. Simpson, “Polygamy in Egypt: In The Middle Kingdom?” *Journal Of Egyptian Archaeology* Volume 60 (1974): 100–105. N. Kanawati, “Polygamy In The Old Kingdom Of Egypt?” *STUDIEN ZUR ALTAGYPTISCHEN KULTUR* Band 4 (1976): 149–160. M. El-Amir, “Monogamy, Polygamy, Endogamy and Consanguinity In Ancient Egyptian Marriage,” *BULLETIN DE L’INSTITUT FRANCAIS D’ARCHEOLOGIE ORIENTAL* TOME LXII. (1964): 103–107.

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1. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 11.
2. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. (New York: Free Press, 1965), 62.

3. Ibid. p.62.
4. J. Foster, *Love Songs of the New Kingdom* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1974), 53.
5. O. Berlev, and S. Hodjash, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stela in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1982), 78–79.
6. H.H.Willems, “A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology, c. 2000–1650 B.C.” *BIJDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-,LAND-EN VOLKEN-KUNDE DEEL* 139 (1983): 153.
7. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar 3rd ed.*, (Oxford: Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum, 1994), Paragraph 34, p.39.
8. E. Schusky, *Manual For Kinship Analysis* (Maryland: University Press America, Inc., 1983), 90.
9. R. Fox, *Kinship and Marriage* (Maryland: Penguin Books Inc., 1971), 184.
10. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1931), 13. Also, classificatory kinship systems were seen by Morgan as a residual of pairing marriages.
11. The famous quote of al-Bakri states: “This is their custom . . . the kingdom is inherited only by the son of the King’s sister. He the King has no doubt that his successor is a son of his sister, while he is not certain that his son is in fact his own.” quoted in J.F. Ade Ajayi and I Espie ed., *A Thousand Years of West African History* (New York: Humanities Press, 1972), 244–245. Also, classificatory kinships systems were seen by H. Morgan as a residual of pairing marriages and matrilineal family organization. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1871). C.A. Diop, *The Cultural Unity of Black of Africa* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1978), 14–18.
12. C. Knight, *Blood Relations: Menstruation and the Origins of Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 526–530.
13. B. Von Wolfgang Helck and E. Otto et al., *LEXIKON DER AGYPTOL-OGIE, BAND VI* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 1032–1036. J. Lustig, “Ideologies of Social Relations in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Gender, Kinship, Ancestors” (Ph.D. Diss., Temple Univ., 1993), p. 50.
14. T. Obenga, “La parente egyptienne Considerations sociologiques” *REVUE D’EGYPTOLOGIE ET DES CIVILISATIONS AFRICAINES ANKH*. NUMBER 4/5, (1995–1996): 166.

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1. W. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1962), 17–50.
2. M. Pei, *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 67.
3. Ibid., p. 45
4. W. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1962), 17–50.
5. H.A. Gleason, “Genetic Relationship Among Languages,” in A. Keiler, ed., *A Reader in Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1972), 1–15.
6. T. Obenga, *Ancient Egypt and Black Africa* (London:Karnak House, 1992), 115–159. For a earlier discussion on the genetic link between Egyptian and African languages see, I. Fodor, *The Problems in the Classification of African Languages, Methodological and Theoretical Conclusions Concerning the Classification System of Joseph Greenberg* (Budapest: Centre of Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1969). L. Homburger, *The Negro-African Languages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).
7. J. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Company, 1953), “The term Hamito-Semitic is so well entrenched that it will no doubt continue to be used. I rather hesitantly suggest the name Afroasiatic for this family as the only one found in Africa and Asia.” 54. see also appendix 1.
8. J. Maquet, *Civilizations of Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 19. Lehmann, W, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1962), 17.
9. For a clear refutation of Greenberg’s conclusion see: T. Obenga, *Ancient Egypt and Black Africa* (London: Karnak House, 1992), 114–159.
10. V. Orel and O. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials for a Reconstruction* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), XI–XIII.
11. C.T. Hodge, *AFROASIATIC: A SURVEY* (Netherlands: Mouton and Company, 1971), 5–6. The name Afrasian is used by Igor M. Diakonoff “Proto-Afrasian and Old Akkadian: A study in historical phonetics” *Journal Of Afroasiatic Languages* Vol 4 Number 1, 2 (Fall 1992). Also, the name Hamito-Semitic name is used by Vladamir E. Orel and Olga V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials For A Reconstruction* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995).

12. J. Greenberg, *Language, Culture, and Communication* (California: Stanford University Press, 1971), 135.
13. Even the most liberal Africanist's and scholars of goodwill accept the Afroasiatic linguistic family as proposed by Greenberg.
14. C. Gray, *Conceptions of History In The Works of Cheikh Anta Diop and Theophile Obenga* (London: Karnak House, 1989), 79–106.
15. G. Mokhtar, ed., *General History Of Africa: Ancient Civilizations of Africa Volume II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 32. Alan Gardiner, author of *Egyptian Grammar*, had reached the same conclusion "Egyptian differs from all the Semitic tongues a good deal more than any one of them differs from any other, and at least until its relationship to African languages is more closely defined, Egyptian must certainly be classified as standing outside the Semitic group." p.3. D. McCall, "The Afroasiatic Language Phylum: African in Origin or Asian? *Current Anthropology*. February 1998, volume 39, no. 1. 139–143. McCall synthesis the latest information on the Afroasiatic language phylum and states: "my prediction is that Africa will turn out to be the cradle of Afroasiatic."
16. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
17. *Ibid.* p. 28. For a more detailed analysis and description of this demonstration see, C.A. Diop, *PARENTE GENETIQUE DE L'EGYPTIEN PHAR-AONIQUE ET DES LANGUES NEGRO-AFRICAINES* (IFAN-DAKAR: LES NOUVELLES EDITIONS AFRICAINES, 1977).
18. G. Mokhtar, ed., *General History of Africa Volume II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 54.
19. W. Baskin, trans., *Course in General Linguistics*, by F. De Saussure (New York: McGraw Hill Books, 1966), 222. E. Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society* (Florida: University Miami Press, 1973). H. Henson, *British Social Anthropologists and Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). C. Ehret, and M. Posansky, eds., *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (California: University California Press, 1974). J. Maquet, *On Linguistic Anthropology* (California: U.C.L.A Department of Anthropology, 1980).
20. W. Baskin, trans., *Course in General Linguistics*, by F. De Saussure (New York: McGraw-Hill Books, 1959), 225.
21. G. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 117.
22. C. Masset, "Prehistory of the Family" in A. Burguiere, et al *A History of the Family* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1996), 86.
23. All Indo-European kinship terms used in this chapter are taken from the following sources: P. Bergman, *The Concise Dictionary of 26 Languages in*

- Simultaneous Translation* (New York: Signet Books, 1968). W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910). C.T. Onions, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). *Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
24. W. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1962), 41–42.
 25. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London: Griffith Institute, 1994), 4–6.
 26. B. Trigger, ed., et al *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 11–12.
 27. A. Arlotto, *Introduction To Historical Linguistics* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), 9.
 28. All Egyptian/Kemetic kinship terms for this chapter are taken from: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London: Griffith Institute, 1994). Kinship terms for Akkadian and Semitic languages are taken from: Orel, V. and Stolbova, O. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials for a Reconstruction* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).
 29. All kinship terms for this chapter from Black African Languages are taken from an article by T. Obenga “La Parente Egyptienne: Considerations Sociologiques,” *ANKH* Number 4/5 (1995–1996): 139.

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1. C. A. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1981), 144–147. C. A. Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Illinois: Third World Press, 1978), 28
2. E. Blyden, *African Life and Customs* (Maryland: Black Classic Press, 1978), 10–11.
3. A. Smith, *Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and Development Ecology*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992).
4. R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1991).
5. D. Richard, “The Ideology of European Dominance” *PRESENCE AFRICAINE* No. 111 3rd Quarterly (1979): 3–18.
6. S. Moore, “Interview with Cheikh Anta Diop (Black Books Bulletin) in I. Van

- Sertima ed. *Great African Thinkers: Cheikh Anta Diop* (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1992), 238–249.
7. C. Finch “Meeting the Pharaoh: in I. Van Sertima ed. *Great African Thinkers: Cheikh Anta Diop* (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1992), 28–35.
8. E. Clement, and I, D’Almeida, “Nile Valley Executive Committee Interviews Diop,” in I Van Sertima ed., *Great African Thinkers: Cheikh Anta Diop* (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1992), 284.
9. R. Mckie, and C. Stringer, *African Exodus: The Origins of Modern Humanity* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996). R. Leakey and R. Lewin *Origins Reconsidered* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).
10. S. Moore, “Interview with Cheikh Anta Diop,” in I van Sertima, ed., *Great African Thinkers: Cheikh Anta Diop* (New Jersey: Transaction books, 1992), 241. For a update literature review on these subjects see, R. Walker. *When We Ruled: The Ancient and Medieval History of Black Civilizations*. (London: Every Generation Media Limited, 2006), 130–289.
11. C. A. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1981).
12. C. Finch, “Nile Genesis: Continuity of Culture from the Great Lakes to the Delta” in I. Van Sertima, ed., *Egypt Child of Africa* (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1994), 35–54.
13. K.Feder, and A. Park, *Human Antiquity: An Introduction to Physical Anthropology and Archaeology* (California: Mayfield Publishing, 1993), 387–440.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 397–398.
15. S. Sanderson, *Social Evolutionism: A Critical History* (Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 11–14.
16. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (Illinois: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1908), 477.
17. C.A. Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Illinois: Third World Press, 1978), 25.
18. “Cradle” *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary 5th Edition*, 136.
19. C. A. Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Illinois: Third World Press, 1978), 28
20. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
21. H. Gunther, *The Racial Elements of European History* (London: Landpost

- Press, 1992), 120. M. Gimbutas, *The Civilization of the Goddess* (California: Harper and Collins Publishing, 1991), 352.
22. M. Zvelebil, and K. Zvelebil, "Agricultural transition and Indo-European dispersal," *Antiquity*, Volume 62, Number 236, (1988): 581.
23. A. Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1979), 62.
24. K. Bard, *From Farmers To Pharaohs: Mortuary Evidence for the Rise of Complex Society in Egypt* (England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).
25. C. Finch *Echoes of The Old Dark Land: Themes From The African Eden* (Georgia: Khenti Inc., 1991), 115–129.
26. G. Mokhtar, ed. *General History of Africa: Ancient Civilizations of Africa Volume II* (California: California University Press, 1990) 61–62.
27. P. Clayton, *Chronicle of The Pharaohs: The Reign-By-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 19.
28. M. Hoffman, *Egypt Before The Pharaohs* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978), 322.
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